1140. i 20
2

A TREATISE ON Maritime Affairs: OR A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE *Commerce* and *Naval Power* OF *ENGLAND* and *FRANCE.* WITH

A View to ſome PARADOXES advanced by M. *DESLANDES:*

nd more particularly, to ſeveral POPULAR PREJUDICES entertained of late concerning the FORMIDABLE POWER of *FRANCE.*

Addreſſed to

he Right Honourable the Earl of WINCHELSEA.

By Mr. *HORSLEY.*

LONDON:

inted for R. WELLINGTON, at the *Dolphin* and *Crown*, without *Temple-Bar.* 1744.

(Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)

41.
11. 6.
584.

A

TREATISE

ON

Maritime Affairs,

&c.

THE *Roman* People, in their higheſt Splendour, were profuſe in the Honorary Rewards which they beſtow'd on Men of Merit, without regarding Birth or Country; it was only to act nobly, and to be ſuitably diſtinguiſh'd. You, my Lord, have the Happineſs to be born above the Pitch of common Honours; ſo that were the beſtowing them here as uſual as amongſt the old *Romans*, you muſt deſcend to reach them. There is no Honour a Subject is capable of equal to the Direction of the Royal Navy, as it ſecures our Commerce, and

ſupports the Honour of the Nation with proper Dignity and Luſtre; to render which really uſeful, and to give full Scope to all its natural Advantages, you have dignify'd it with your Perſon, and by the Uſe and Application of your fine Underſtanding, inſpir'd our Naval Affairs with uncommon Vigour and Activity: You have anſwer'd the Wiſh of every Honeſt *Briton*, and convinc'd the moſt haughty of our Neighbours, that *Spithead* Expeditions are at an end, and that a *Britiſh* Fleet under proper Regulations, and determined Counſels, is deſign'd for ſomething more important than to blaze in Flags and Streamers, and its Ammunition for ſomething more than Salutes: That Sea-Officers ſhould be better employed than in making Entertainments, and that the Mouths of our Cannon ſhall at laſt convince the World our Men of War are not turned into *Venetian Gondolas*, *viz.* Veſſels for Pleaſure and Diverſion.

Mr. *Deſlandes* has taken ſome Pains to ſhew the *French* Miniſtry the Importance of commanding the Sea; and attempts to make it appear, That *France* is much better ſituated for Commerce, and conſequently has more occaſion for, and is better able to ſupport a Royal Fleet than any other Nation whatſoever. How he proves this, I ſhall take notice in its proper Place.

THE Commerce of *France* has ſomething in it very extraordinary; if it be true, as he alledges, that the annual Balance of Trade is Seven Millions *Sterling*, which, if I conceive aright, is more than is gain'd by all *Europe* together. How this can be, and the People of that Country complain of their Taxes, which are not ordinarily 5,000,000, muſt likewiſe be conſider'd in its Turn.

EVERY Nation has its peculiar Reaſons, why it can, or cannot, or needs not, fit out large Fleets: Inland Dominions cannot do it; and ſome, who have Sea-ports, do not care to fit out more than juſt what is ſufficient to guard their Commerce from Port to Port. Some have good Will, but are deficient in Abilities: Others conſider, that, tho' a Navy might ſupport and encourage Commerce; yet it would, at the ſame time, leſſen Arbitrary Power, and reduce them to the neceſſity, of diſbanding their Land-Forces, which are their more immediate Support and Protection, and which does certainly coſt them leſs Money.

THUS ſome for one Reaſon, ſome for another, and ſome for none at all, neglect attending to, what we moſt highly value and eſteem; and leaves us at liberty to be as great as we pleaſe, this way. Yet, my Lord, 'tis very ſurpriſing, that we, whoſe Hearts are moſt ſet on *Naval* Affairs, purſue not

Meaſures any way adequate to that important End; but ſuffer every petty Power which can only fit out Muſhroom-Fleets, to excell us in their Oeconomy and Conduct. I can only account for this, as one would for the different Conduct of a Lion and a Fox. One is too brave to uſe Art; the other too puſillanimous, to truſt to his Strength: But a Lion looks very fooliſh when caught in a Toil, and made the jeſt of every inſignificant Animal. Surely, my Lord, a Grain of Wiſdom would not hurt our Bravery. Would it be any way to our diſpraiſe, that we could build our Ships better, or fit them out as cheap, or man them with good Men and Officers as eaſily, as other Nations? Would it be any Reflection on our Bravery, that our Officers were well ſkill'd in Science, and our Men well arm'd and diſciplin'd? YourLordſhip will ſay no. How then is it that this is not our Caſe? I ſhall beg leave to inform your Lordſhip; and ſo fall in directly with my Deſign.

AMONGST the many Evils attending the Reign of *Lewis* XIV, ſome good ſprung up and flouriſh'd in *France:* If, on the one hand, he robb'd his People of their Wealth, diveſted them of their Civil Rights, ruin'd their Commerce, and drove them like Sheep to the Slaughter; on the other, he laid the Foundation of Learning, by giving due Encouragement

couragement to thoſe Arts and Sciences, which will be a laſting Honour to his Memory: And beſides thoſe, which are rather adapted to the Elegancies, than the Neceſſaries of Life, he conſtituted Academies for the Uſeful; wherein were bred up Draughts-Men, Mathematicians, Engineers, and Mechanicks: and thus, gave every Man, who had a Genius, proper Opportunity to exert it to Advantage.

By this means *France* ſoon excelled us in all theſe Particulars. They of a ſudden built their Ships of War better, than ours; that is to ſay, better contrived within, and their Bottoms better modelled. They were firſt formed in theſe Academies, and then given out to be built by Contract: By this means the common Builders, came to underſtand the true Figure and Formation of a Ship both for War and Sailing; and every working Mechanick became, by degrees, as well verſed in the Art of Ship-building, as the Maſter-builder himſelf: And, as they occaſionally diſpers'd, carried the Art with them to every Sea-port in the Kingdom, and built Privateers, which were an Over-Match for the whole World.

This was all ſo ſuddenly effected, and ſuch a glorious Fleet raiſed, as created at once Aſtoniſhment and Envy: in the mean time the

the *French* went boldly on, and conſequently bid fair for the Empire of the Ocean. *Lewis* knew very well, that his Officers did not want Courage: ſo he left that Point unconſidered; but he took care, that they ſhould not want thoſe Rudiments of Education, which chiefly tend to render the Character of a Sea-Officer ſhining and illuſtrious. To this end their Inſtruction was carefully regarded; they could build, rig, and, as far as Theory can be ſuppoſed to extend, carry a Ship into any part of the known World; they were Mariners, Mechanicks, Navigators and Engineers; and knew the Art of offenſive and defenſive Sea-fighting, before they ever ſtep'd aboard the Ship they were allotted to ſerve in: And when there, they were taught to behave with Humanity, and Good-breeding, and to act at the ſame time in the Characters of Seamen, Soldiers, and Gentlemen.

The manning of theſe Ships was another Conſideration, which very much contributed to the Point in view: To attain this, *Lewis* by Edict commanded a Liſt to be brought him of all the ſeafaring People in his Dominions; and obliged them to ſerve in their turns, on ſuch Terms, as were in no reſpect diſagreeable to themſelves: And after forming his Sea-ports into various Departments, he conſtituted ſuitable Intendants,

tendants, who watched over Maritime Affairs, and mann'd and provided his Ships on ſhort Notices. Thus *Lewis*'s Fleet, like a new World, was created, as it were, in an inſtant, and before his Neighbours knew of his having any Ships, they rode formidable on the Ocean, and bid fair for Imperial Sway. How all theſe fine doings ſunk of a ſudden, and dwindled away to almoſt nothing, remains to be told in its proper Place, and will then ſerve to inſtruct us, that we ought to be as much upon our guard, as ever.

I AM now, my Lord, entring on a very diſagreeable Taſk; a Contraſt, I could wiſh to be excuſed the forming of, did I not conceive it may poſſibly one day produce the good Effects I intend by it. My View is to break the ſtiff Neck of Prejudice and harden'd Cuſtom, while there is one at the Head of the Board, whoſe Genius is ſuperior to mean and ſordid Habitude, and able to force through the ſtrong Redoubts of fortified Error. To enter into a minute Criticiſm on Ship-building would of itſelf be Subject ſufficient for an entire Volume, and is not at preſent very material. I will take it for granted, that our Ships are generally as well formed as thoſe of the *French*, built generally of better Timber, and more laſting, and for that reaſon, perhaps, come much dearer. My Complaint, in this particular,

cular, is, that the Science is not ſtudied, nor propagated, and, I am afraid, not very well underſtood. There have been indeed a few Men in the Kingdom, from time to time, who have had ſome Acquaintance with the Theory: Others by long Practice, foreign Models, and the Light of Reaſon, with the help of ſuch Models of our own as have remain'd, have been indifferently well verſed in the Practice; but have laid no juſt Foundation for Improvement. Our three-deck Ships are generally defective in their upper Works, and, in my opinion, too much raiſed, which renders them weak and unable to bear the Weight of the Metal, they carry, in a Sea-Gate. I am likewiſe of Opinion, that the Navy in general is maſted on a wrong Principle, eſpecially the Ships under ſeventy Guns: And this I take to be owing to the Directors in thoſe Affairs, who rather confine themſelves to an eſtabliſhed Method, than ſtudy the Fundamentals of their Buſineſs as a Science. And, tho' I ſhould be very cautious of hurting our own Plantation Produce, I am afraid our *New England* Maſts are not ſo good as the *Gottenburgh*; but this only by the way.

I WILL then preſume our Ships as good as the *French*, and as properly fitted for the Sea, and our Proviſions much better, at leaſt for a long Voyage: But it is our Buſineſs to excel

excel in every particular; as thereupon depends the Improvement of our Commerce, and the Safeguard and Welfare of the Nation.

I BELIEVE all Mankind will agree with me, that the Command of a Ship of War is a very important Truſt; and conſequently that the Man, who enjoys it, ought to have both natural and acquired Parts, ſomewhat ſuperior to thoſe he commands, and to be ſo educated as to give him a Grace and Dignity equal to his Poſt. The general Notion, I know, is, that 'tis impoſſible to be a Seaman without being bred to it from one's Infancy; but it happens, that the beſt Sea-Officers, we ever had, were very differently educated; and the worſt have been thoſe, who never had any Education at all.

THE late Mr. *Molyneux* had a deſign, as I am informed, to reconcile this matter, by giving our young Gentlemen a ſuitable Education, and enuring them to the Sea at the ſame time. He refined upon the *French* Academies, and the Parallel would have been in our favour, had he lived to have executed his Deſign. He propoſed conſtantly to have had Ships out upon Diſcoveries, on board of which he would have encouraged Men to embark, ſkilful in various Arts and Sciences; and with them a certain

Number of young Gentlemen, who would have learnt Mathematicks, Languages, Hiſtory, *&c.* and conſequently have had more Experience in three Years, than, as now, in half their Lives: They would have been habituated to various Climates, and their Minds opened and enlarged by a Variety of Incidents naturally occurring in diſtant and leſs known Parts of the World; and 'tis very probable, that they would have returned with a different kind of Knowledge, from that of meerly knowing how to Hale an Earing, or tell the time of high Water at *London* Bridge: The important Queſtions of an examining Commiſſioner!

Such Voyages, ſo proſecuted, would not only have been the Means of raiſing illuſtrious Men; but might probably have turn'd very much to the Emolument of the Nation, by improving and extending our Commerce, and ſeems, to my poor Underſtanding, the moſt natural Uſe a ſmall part of the Navy could have been apply'd to: But this, my Lord, requires infinite Caution in the purſuit, and ſuch as none, but a Judgment like yours, is readily capable of attending to. Common Schoolmaſters, pick'd up at random, with Sallaries of forty Pounds a Year, would render ſuch a Scheme ridiculous. Men of Science muſt not only be

be well paid; but have ſome Road to Preferment, ſome Proſpect of riſing higher.

As the Caſe now ſtands, the *French* Officers have much the Advantage of ours in point of Theory; and ſo of courſe learn the Military Art much ſooner, when in the way of Practice. An Habit of Thinking and Application furniſhes them with a ſtock of Ideas, which lead them to refine on Stratagem, and render them ſkilful in Contrivance, which is often ſuperior to Force. A Captain who meerly fights his Ship, in the common Road, does no more than any Seaman might do, as well as he; and the difference between them only is, that one has had better luck than the other. I think, my Lord, the Parallel in this Caſe is much in favour of *France*, and, were it not a very diſagreeable Subject, I could prove it by Facts; but I dare to ſay, you had rather I ſhould let it alone.

I HAVE a little above juſt touched upon the Method by which *Lewis* XIV, mann'd his Fleet: The ſame Method continues ſtill, and may ſerve to give us ſome very uſeful Hints, how to act in the like Circumſtances. I was in hopes this part of my Eſſay would have been render'd uſeleſs, being inform'd, that an Officer of Rank had brought a Bill into Parliament, for the ſpecial Purpoſe of

more ſpeedy, and eaſy manning the Navy on all Emergencies: But as I hear no more of it, I ſuppoſe it is dropt, and therefore ſhall take the liberty of purſuing my firſt Deſign.

I HAVE two very ſtrong Reaſons to be more particular on this Subject, than on any of the reſt: The firſt is the Advantage that the *French*, and all other Maritime Nations have over us in this reſpect: The other is, the Diſhonour and Expence, which the evil Practice of Impreſſing Men produces, and which in many Caſes is quite devoid of Humanity. This Evil, my Lord, is come to you with the Poſt, you honour; but I hope it will not be left behind you, when you retire. I am in no doubt, but that you would be ready to receive and improve every Hint, that may tend towards remedying this *important Miſchief*; for which Reaſon I ſhall be more than commonly free and open.

THE Lawyers ſeem to be in doubt, whether Impreſſing be lawful: But, my Lord, Doubt is their Harveſt, their Fee-farm and ſtanding Revenue. Our Buſineſs is to make the matter clear.

THE plain State of the Queſtion is this; Whether the Sovereign in Council has a lawful

lawful Right to direct the Impriſonment, and forcing into the publick Service, all, any, or what particular Claſs of his Subjects? If all; then are We no longer a free People: If any particular Claſs; then are They unhappily diſtinguiſh'd, and prevented from enjoying the Privilege of a free People, in common with the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects. But why? Is there any certain Law for this Diſtinction? If not; on what Principle of Juſtice is it purſued? If Cuſtom is aſſerted, 'tis the worſt Plea of all; ſince no Cuſtom can be good, that is directly oppoſite to the ſtanding Law of the Nation, which is founded on *Magna Charta*, the Baſis of all our Liberties, which expreſsly ſays no Man ſhall be obliged to ſerve againſt his Will, unleſs in the Defence of his Country againſt an Invader. I ſuppoſe the Lawyers won't preſume to ſay, that a Sailor is not a Man, nor a Fellow-Subject: Perhaps they will alledge, that Neceſſity has no Law: But I ſhould be ſorry to ſay it for them, ſince the Buſineſs is to remove the Neceſſity by making a proper Law; and not to commit unlawful Acts on the credit of Neceſſity: For under ſuch Pretences I know not who is ſafe.

But preſuming it to be as lawful, as ſome would, through Indolence or Ignorance, have it, is it not a very inconvenient

nient Law, and attended with infinite bad Conſequences both to Perſons in particular, and to Commerce in general? As to Perſons; when, as now, Honeſt Men are taken from their Houſes, Lodgings, or Families like Thieves, put aboard of cloſe Veſſels, and oftentimes kept there, till murther'd, for want of Air, and at beſt by that means contract ſuch fatal Diſtempers, as by Communication have been the Cauſe of half unmanning the Fleet. Again, if they are taken from aboard a Ship, then are the Merchants ſenſibly injur'd; If outward bound, their Voyage protracted, and perhaps ruin'd by loſing a Market; If homeward bound, the Ship oftentimes by the Ignorance of thoſe placed in their ſtead loſt; and the Men, when taken, perhaps in a very ill State of Health, and conſequently very unfit for freſh Service; and if they be taken from a Ship, when abroad, the whole Voyage ruin'd, and the Ship laid up to rot in a diſtant Port.

THIS, my Lord, to ſay no worſe, is but an odd Way of raiſing Seamen, and encouraging Commerce, on which the very Exiſtence of our Navy, and the Glory, Honour and Reputation of the Nation depends: So that if it be Law, 'tis a very bad one; or as ſillily put in execution as one can imagine: But if it be not Law, then it

is

is —— what I ſhall wave naming for the preſent. However, it is certain that hereby not only Commerce ſuffers, and our Breed of Seamen is conſiderably leſſened; but it is likewiſe the Means of ſquandring away great Sums of the Nation's Revenue to the worſt Purpoſe imaginable.

PERHAPS, my Lord, you never ſaw this ugly Devil of a thing in all its hideous Appearances before. I have therefore endeavoured to paint the invidious Portrait as near the Life as poſſible, that you may ſee and deteſt it: For, my Lord, if Impreſſing be not clear Law, in what a Situation are the Actors? And if it be Law, in what a Situation are we all? I think I have ſhewn, that it is not Law; I ſhall now beg leave to ſhew, that neither is it Neceſſity.

MY Lord, the Captains of Men of War want to mann their Ships with all able Seamen; but, my Lord, half able Seamen, and the reſt well diſciplin'd Land-men, will anſwer a better Purpoſe, as it will increaſe the Number of Seamen, and make them more plentiful. As I know thoſe are ſufficient to work the Ship, ſo I alſo know that Land-men are more eaſily diſciplin'd, and make better Muſqueteers than Seamen; and let them but have Arms, they, when diſciplin'd, and learn'd to ſtand upon their Legs,

Legs, will make a better Fight than a Crew which is compoſed of all Seamen. In this Particular too, I think, the *French* have convinc'd us they excel. 'Tis very wonderful, that we, who value and pique ourſelves upon a Naval Power, ſhould take the leaſt care of all Nations, about either officering or manning our Ships; and that we ſhould know no more about fighting them, and, in many caſes, not ſo much, as thoſe who eſteem not a Naval Power at all.

Men of confin'd Imaginations tell us, that the Reaſon why the *French* mann their Fleet eaſier than we, is becauſe their King is arbitrary. All Governments in the World are, and muſt be, arbitrary, or be no Governments at all: The Difference is only whether Abſolute Power be veſted in a ſingle Perſon, or in many. *Holland* and *Sweden* are free States, with Abſolute Power veſted in many. *France* and *Denmark* have the Abſolute Power veſted in ſingle Perſons: But neither the one, nor the other, are ever guilty of any Act, ſo truly and barbarouſly arbitrary, as our Method of Impreſſing; nor attend ſo little to the fundamental Maxims of Maritime Power as we.

In Trade a Man may be a good Book-keeper, or Journeyman; yet very unfit to be the Merchant or Maſter-trader. In like manner,

manner, the ſame Genius, that conſtitutes a Boatſwain, may render a Man extremely improper for a general Command. The Attention of one is merely fix'd to a few particular Objects; and requires only a ſmall Portion of Underſtanding, and a good Stock of Spirits. The Commander is to know all, that the Boatſwain knows; and what a Man, well ſtock'd with uſeful Knowledge, muſt neceſſarily know beſides. His Ship is a little Kingdom; and his Power as abſolute as the Grand *Seignior*'s: If he knows no more than his Seamen, he is but a paltry Emperor abroad, and a very inſignificant Subject at home. If none but mere Seamen are fit to command abroad, then are none, but mere Seamen, fit to direct at home; which is a Maxim your Lordſhip has ſufficiently prov'd the Abſurdity of.

Mr. *Deslandes* informs us, that it is a Queſtion much canvaſſed among the *Engliſh*, whether the Gentry, or Soldiers of Fortune, who have no hopes of riſing, but by their Merit, are fitteſt for Maritime Service; and ſays, that we decide it in favour of the latter. The Queſtion at firſt ſight indeed ſeems plain enough; however, if a little examined into, I believe, it will be found not to want its Perplexities. If Mr. *Deslandes* means our Queſtion to be, whether Nature improv'd, exalted and humanized,

be better than a ſavage State, it either ſeems to be no Queſtion worth ſtating, or the *Engliſh* a People of odd Imaginations, to anſwer it as he has made them.

THE Truth of the matter is this; All that go to Sea are Soldiers of Fortune, and whether they happen to be of the lower, or higher Rank, of the People, have equally their Fortunes to make; and the only Queſtion is, whether People tenderly brought up are ſo fit to bear the Fatigues of the Sea, as thoſe who are bred to the Hardſhips of it from their Cradle? However, in reality this is rather aſking, which will make the beſt common Seaman, than which the beſt Officer.

THERE are not any Hardſhips in the Navy, as I ever found, who have ſerv'd, where moſt that can happen have been felt, but ſuch as a well-bred Man may go through without any great Difficulty: However, ſuppoſing it the worſt that can be, yet our Gentry are for the moſt part educated in ſuch a manner, as to be at leaſt as capable of bearing Hardſhips, as the *French*. In this reſpect, I take it, we have much the better of them, if it were a thing of any Importance, which I take to be quite the contrary: What we want is to have our young Gentlemen better taken care of; before it is neceſſary to try their Conſtitutions:

The

The Foundation ought to be laid in their Minds; and they may be as well truſted for the reſt, as the moſt ordinary Men.

No Man will diſpute, but it may ſometimes happen, that brilliant Stones are found in Places, where common Eyes never conceiv'd they would grow; or that Nature is ſometimes ſuperlatively generous in beſtowing extraordinary Gifts on very ordinary Appearances: Notwithſtanding which, the right Place to look for them is, where they uſually are found; and where the Streams run, that feed, purify and refine them. Nature alone directs the Actions of an untaught and unbred Man; if his Nature be courageous, well; if not, he is an abſolute Coward. Reaſon and Reflection, ſupported by a juſt Senſe of Honour, the Attributes of Men well born and educated, are not his: What Nature makes him, and that only, he is. Courage is an Attribute common to Man and Beaſt; and a Man who has nothing elſe to recommend him, but Courage, and the uſual Mechanic Knowledge, may make a very good common Seaman, but never a good Officer.

WHAT has been hitherto ſaid is only, as it were, by way of Introduction to the main Point in diſpute; that nothing might afterwards interfere in the Courſe of the

main Argument; which is, whether *Britain* or *France* is moſt capable, of ſupporting a Maritime Power.

MR. DESLANDES gives us a conciſe Hiſtory of Maritime Power, from very diſtant times, and ſhews us its Neceſſity and Uſe. He then attempts to ſhew the Advantages *France* has, over all other Countries, in her Situation, Riches, and Reſources; and concludes, like a true *Frenchman*, extravagantly in favour of his own Country.

THE Maritime Power, as kept up in diſtant Ages, is ſo little underſtood, and ſo little to our preſent Purpoſe, that I ſhall not ſay any thing about it. The Benefit of ſuch Power is at preſent perfectly well underſtood, as it is neceſſary for our domeſtic Safeguard, the influencing of our Neighbours, and protecting our Commerce. And how far *France*, or any other Nation by their Situation, Riches or Reſources, have Advantages ſuperior to *Britain*, comes next to be conſider'd. This naturally leads us into a general Treatiſe on Commerce; for which, our Author ſays, *France* is beſt ſituated, and proves it thus.

FRANCE is bounded by three Seas, and has a Variety of good Harbours in them all, *viz.* in the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantick*, and

and *Britiſh* Channel, which are Advantages in Situation ſuperior to all other Nations. Had Mr. *Deslandes* conſider'd this matter, free from Prejudice, he would have readily found, that it is not the Situation of this, or that Port, as it relates to the Sea, but as it relates to the Dominions in general, which his Sovereign poſſeſſes, that could give them ſuperior Advantages in Commerce.

In this Light, *France* is the worſt ſituated of any Nation, I know: The Fondneſs of the *French* Monarchs from Age to Age, of acquiring inland Dominion, has render'd three Parts in four of their Territories quite incapable of being concern'd in Maritime Affairs, by the Neceſſity they are under of inland Carriage, which comes too dear to be propagated to any important Purpoſe.

The Situation proper for a Maritime Country is, That the Metropolis be a Sea-Port, and nearly in the Center; that the Country be furniſh'd with good Ports in various Parts, for the Purpoſes of a Naval Power, and for harbouring Ships in diſtreſs, or kept from the Center-Port by contrary Winds; that it have navigable Rivers communicating with the principal Towns, and with one another.

A METROPOLIS being near the Center, and a Sea-Port, is of the laſt Importance to Trade, as it is there, the Prince, Nobility, Gentry, Manufacturer, Merchant and Mariner univerſally conſent to meet. This is the Caſe of *England*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Portugal*; but not of *France*.

INLAND Navigation is peculiar to *England* and *Holland*; and tho' their Out-Ports do not lie ſo fair for the *Southern* Trade, as *France*, they are generally more convenient; and better ſituated for the *Northern* Trades. As to the *Southern* Trade, it is but of little ſignificance, that a Ship is a Week or Fortnight longer in her Voyage: And it is very remarkable, that the beſt Sea-Ports both in *England* and *France*, and which lie faireſt to the *Southward*, have the leaſt Trade of any, as *Breſt* in *Britany*, and *Falmouth* and *Plimouth* in *England*. *London*, *Briſtol*, *Liverpool*, *Lynn*, *Hull*, *Dublin*, *Cork*, and *Glaſgow*, carry on the chief Foreign Trade, both *Northward* and *Southward*, yet are none of them the beſt ſituated as to the Nearneſs of the Places they trade to; but are much the beſt ſituated for vending their Returns, which is the main Object of Trade, by means of the *Severn*, *Humber*, *Thames*, *Merſey*, *Cam*, *Nine*, *&c.* which are all ſo far navigable inland, and ſo near com-

communicating by their main Bodies and reſpective Branches, as to need very little Land-Carriage; and are all ſtill capable of farther Improvement. An Advantage this, that *France* is abſolutely incapable of; and which the Dominions of *Great Britain* and *Holland* chiefly enjoy. Thus far, I hope, the Difference is very plain and obvious.

THE next thing that comes under Conſideration is, the natural Riches and Reſources of *Great Britain* and *France*. The natural Riches of a Country are, what it raiſes, and manufactures of its own Growth, or Produce, and theſe are conſiderably enhanced if it vends them on its own Bottoms. What *France* produces of this kind, are chiefly Wines and Linnens; under which Titles I include Brandys, Cambricks, Ghentins, and Bone-Lace: But theſe are all of ſuch a nature, as may either produce a very fine Trade, or none at all: So are not of thoſe kinds of Commodities, which may juſtly be term'd eſtabliſh'd and laſting. They are now what the Salt Trade once was; the moſt beneficial Produce of that Country: But as other Nations came either to make it, or find means of getting it at an eaſier rate, their Trade, in that Commodity, gradually ſunk, and came at laſt to nothing. Their Linnens decline apace; and the Wine Trade ſubſiſts purely on the

Credit

Credit of Caprice. Thus all the natural Products of *France*, whereon their Riches and Reſources chiefly depend, are at beſt tranſitory and uncertain; and, as it is, are but little traded with on their own Bottoms, which makes at leaſt one third Difference in the Balance, as I ſhall ſhew in its proper Place.

THE natural Products of *Britain*, and its home Dominions, are Tin, Lead, Iron, Copper, *Lapis Calaminaris*, Rotten-Stone, Woad, Madder, Coals, Culm, Allum, Saffron, Corn, and Wool; and are all of ſuch a Nature, that no Country can produce them, at the ſame time, both ſo good and ſo cheap, except *Sweden*, whoſe Iron and Copper are generally eſteem'd better, and are many of them not to be had any where elſe. To theſe may be added our Herring and Oyſter Fiſheries, which may not improperly be term'd our own Produce, and which turn to a very good Account, and contribute very materially to the Enriching of the Nation, as much by the employing of the common People, and creating a ſort of Mariners, as by the Wealth they produce.

OUR Metallic Products contribute to a Variety of good Purpoſes, in the Manufactures they create, for Foreign, as well as Home Conſumption, and the Employment they

they give to a vaſt Number of ingenious Mechanics, and Shopkeepers, who are thereby enabled to thrive, and live in a State of laudable Plenty. It would take up half a Volume to enumerate the various Manufactures, the Metallic Species create; the moſt delicate whereof are the making of Watches, which are vended in greater quantities, than People out of Trade generally dream of. In a word, the raiſing and manufacturing of the Metals in general employ, in one ſhape or other, near a Million of People. The only kind we neglect wholly manufacturing, is our Tin, and what that is owing to, I confeſs, I cannot at preſent explain; but conceive it chiefly to be, that no great and good Commonwealths-Man has ever yet happen'd to turn his Head that way: So that at preſent the *Dutch* do a great deal for us.

Our Coals are principally conſumed at home; but have their Advantages beſides, as well as the other Species of our Products, that they employ Multitudes of working People under ground, above ground, and at Sea; enrich great Numbers of Merchants and Dealers; and vend in a ſufficient quantity abroad, to contribute largely to the Balance of Trade, and the enriching of the Nation. Woad and Madder are chiefly uſed at home, and employ ſome of our beſt

Land, and a great many People in planting, gathering, curing and dying. Theſe are Commodities, which are in ſome meaſure vended abroad, and ſo contribute many ways to the publick Emolument. Allum and Saffron are what I call ſimple Products, one is chiefly uſed to ſet Colours, the other in Medicine; but both vend abroad, and are uſed at home, and are no contemptible Commodities.

LAPIS CALAMINARIS is uſed for converting Copper into Braſs, and medicinally; Rotten-Stone for poliſhing ſeveral Metals; both theſe are uſed in conſiderable quantities at home, and vended abroad.

CORN creates a good deal of Work for our Shipping in Exportation, and ſaves us ſo much Money in the Balance of Trade, as well as employs an infinite Number of induſtrious People, and the greater part of our Lands.

WOOL, of the kind, is the peculiar Product of theſe Nations, and not to be equal'd in all reſpects by any other Country; and can be only aſſiſted in one particular Fabrick by any other, and this is the *Spaniſh*. Our Wool will alone make excellent Cloaths; but not ſo fine as when work'd up with the *Spaniſh*. Our Manufacturers are peculiar in

in the Art of working it up to an Excellency, which no other Nation can yet effectually attain to, with the ſame Materials: But as the *French* generally work cheaper, and more ſlight than we; ſo they out-ſell us in ſome foreign Markets; and by this means, in ſome meaſure, rob us of our own Produce: But this will be effectually remedy'd, whenever we are ſo fortunate, as to ſee the Scheme of our Taxes altered, by taking them off from a Variety of Commodities, and fixing them on ſome ſingle Object; as I have prov'd in my Remarks on Sir *Matthew Decker*'s Scheme, lately publiſh'd. For by this means, the Labourer will be able to work for half Price, and the Commodity be conſequently ſo reduced in Value, as will enable us to underſell the *French* in all foreign Markets, and work up all our own Wool at home. This Commodity is certainly of the laſt Importance, and will alone, when properly attended to, out-balance all the precarious Products of *France* put together.

OUR next Conſideration is the Produce of our reſpective Plantations in *America*, and the Benefits ariſing therefrom. In the *Weſt-Indies*, the Products of ours and the *French* Iſlands are much the ſame, except in the Article of *Indico*, which the *French* of late Years have apply'd themſelves to the planting of, and we have neglected. The

reaſon of this, as I take it, has been, that our Planters found Sugar and Rum anſwer better, as they have a great Vent here for both, as well as in ſeveral other Parts of the World; and the *French*, not being ſuffer'd to vend their Rum in *France*, apply'd to the planting of *Indico*. In which Caſes, tho' both anſwer the Ends of the reſpective Planters there, it makes a great Alteration here; as the *French*, by this means, not only ſerve their own Country with *Indico*, but likewiſe us, and other Nations, and gain thereby a conſiderable Advantage in this particular Branch of Commerce. This, I conceive, is only to be remedy'd by a Bounty to the Planters, payable out of the Iſland Duties, to encourage them to renew its Cultivation; which, if we got nothing by it, would leſſen the Gain of *France*, and that I conceive would be a real Profit to ourſelves; ſince every thing we cauſe ſo bad a Neighbour to loſe, is in effect a Gain to ourſelves.

On the main Continent of *America*, the chief Products are Iron-Ore, Hemp, Flax, Maſts, Rice, Pitch, Tar, Skins, Furs, Pipe-Staves, Fleſh, Tallow, Corn, Tobacco, Train-Oil, Salt-Fiſh, and Shipping, in moſt of which Commodities We have much the advantage; and in Some vend to Them large quantities, both at their Iſlands and in *France*. They creep indeed round us by degrees

degrees, aiming at a Communication between *Canada* and the *Miſſiſſipi*, according to their natural Deſire of having Land enough, tho' it turn to little account; and leave us the Maritime Tract, to prevent their being over-burthen'd with Wealth and Trade, which might have a bad effect on ſuch troubleſome and reſtleſs Spirits.

OUR next Conſideration is Commerce in general: And here I am entring into a Field, where I ſhall have Legions to engage with; but as my Purſuit is Truth, and as I am, in the whole, to form a Parallel, free from vulgar Error or national Prejudices, I ſhall endeavour to ſee, and deſcribe things in the juſteſt Light, they appear to me in.

THE laudable Emulation of my Countrymen induces them to think, that the *French* are ever running away with our Trade. Whether they really have, or not, comes now to be conſider'd.

THE Firſt, and which is moſt complain'd of, is, The *Turkey* Trade, which We are oblig'd to carry on from *London*; They from *Marſeilles*: So that we have double the diſtance to ſail, that they have. The Cargoes for that Trade conſiſt chiefly in Woollen Goods, and are conſequently very valuable. The *French* make theſe ſomething like ours;

but ſlighter, and ſo can afford them cheaper; and in that particular Branch do underſell us. The other Part of their Cargoes, as Watches, Jewels, *&c.* they have from *England* and *Geneva*; but chiefly from *England:* Therefore if they underſell us in them, it is purely becauſe they vend worſe Goods. However, at all Events we cannot be loſers in this reſpect, a great part of ſuch Merchandizes being purchas'd here, as are indeed a great part of their Woollen Goods of a particular Species. There are many Commodities in *Turkey*, which they muſt take in return, or elſe give long Credit, which are of no uſe to the *French*; nor will anſwer a Re-export: ſuch as Oil, Fruits, *&c.* The chief Commodities of thoſe Countries are, Raw-Silk, Cotton, and Drugs: If the *French* take the Value of their firſt Cargoes in theſe, they muſt take infinitely more than they have any uſe for, as they have the ſame from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and muſt have Raw-Silk from *Italy* beſides, the Eaſtern Silks not anſwering all their Purpoſes in that Manufacture.

It is likewiſe worthy our Obſevration, that *Turkey* is one of thoſe Countries, that can't bear a Balance againſt them; and conſequently thoſe, who can afford to trade with them for moſt of their own Commodities, will have the beſt Trade, whether they ſell the

the moſt Goods or not: Since thoſe who ſell moſt, and take the feweſt, muſt run the hazard of loſing the Surplus, which has been the Caſe of the *Marſeilles* Merchants more than once; and they own themſelves, that where one gets by this Trade, ten are ruin'd. If either We, or the *Dutch*, who both profeſs to trade for profit, would act as the *Marſeilles* Merchants do, I doubt not, we might ſhare the Trade betwixt us; but our Merchants don't chooſe it: They find, that, tho' they can take off more Species of Commodities, than the *French*, and find a Market for them; and alſo vend their own there at a tolerable Price; yet all will not do: The Trade is in the preſent Situation of things not worth purſuing, as it was formerly. The *French* were the firſt, that had it, and may probably keep it laſt; tho' very little to their advantage otherwiſe, than as it contributes to keep up a ſtock of Seamen. If they lie nearer for a Market thither, they are far enough from one at their return; and a Man needs but be a twelvemonth at *Marſeilles* to be thoroughly convinc'd, that tho' they may hurt us in the purſuit of that Trade, they do themſelves but very little good.

THE *India* Trade, I conceive, is of no important Service either to us or the *French*: It may anſwer ſome particular Purpoſes to both, as it may to *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but

but can't poſſibly enrich either: For whatever Country we trade with, and muſt take manufactur'd Commodities in return for others, or for Specie, it muſt either immediately prejudice our own Manufactures, or diſtantly, by re-exporting them whither our own ſhould have gone. The laſt does the moſt miſchief; but both are bad: And tho' both the *French* and We are in a Situation much alike, as to the ill Effects of that Trade; yet it may be better for both, not to diſcontinue it, than to ſuffer the ſame Inconveniences by having the Goods, that prejudice our reſpective Manufactures, run in upon us by others: So that in this Caſe, whether We, or the *French* have the greateſt ſhare in this Trade is not very material, otherwiſe than as it keeps up a ſtock of Seamen, and abundance of other People employ'd.

The *African* Trade was once of very great importance, owing to the firſt *Weſt-India* Settlers being either too idle, or wanting ſufficient Hands to do the buſineſs of the Plantations, or bring them to any kind of Maturity. They are now in the Iſlands, as well as on the Continent, at leaſt in many Parts, over-ſtock'd with Negroes: In ſome Places indeed they will yet ſell very well, but, in general, the Market is very hazardous and uncertain. Ivory is become of little

little Value; and Gold-Duſt not to be had in any conſiderable quantities. 'Tis true, that the Commodities exchang'd are trifling, and that, if a Ship comes to a good Market, has not many Negroes die, or is pretty ſucceſsful on the Gold Coaſt, it may anſwer very well; but the Odds are infinitely againſt them: And it is moreover ſo far from being the means of raiſing Seamen, as moſt other Voyages do, that it rather ſeems calculated for their Deſtruction. And thus taking all things together, tho' I conceive we trade much more thither, than the *French*, yet I think the Benefits ariſing therefrom not worth contending for.

AMERICA is the common Banker of us all; thoſe Parts, I mean, in the hands of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*: yet are neither of theſe two Nations ſo much enrich'd by their *American* Mines, as that either of them can afford to trade with their Neighbours merely for Caſh. It follows then, that whoever trades with them muſt take native Commodities. Now there are very few Commodities in either of thoſe Countries, which the *French* can have any uſe for at all; and conſequently cannot carry on a Trade upon equal Terms with the *Engliſh*, who have a Market for, and can take off, moſt of their Commodities. Trade will always make its own way; and as the Peo-

ple of all Countries are very ſenſible of the difference between Loſs and Gain, ſo will they never ſurrender up their Reaſon to meer Caprice, and trade with one Nation to a Loſs while they can be benefited by another. We will ſuppoſe the *French* could underſell us in the Commodities they carry; yet they can't take off the native Products, and conſequently can't be paid for their Goods. But again, there is a vaſt difference between ſelling by way of Exchange, and for Specie only: If I ſell for Specie only, I muſt ſell higher, than if I ſold in Exchange; becauſe I have no Freight back, and but one Market; ſo that I muſt be at the ſame Charge for half the time, as if I had employ'd the whole; which doubles the Expence when it produces no Profit. But if I can come full freighted back to a ſure Market, and have a good Balance in Specie too, then I am at the ſame time enriching both myſelf and Country, and anſwering the Purpoſe of thoſe I trade with, who will certainly give me the preference to thoſe, who can't trade with them on the ſame Principle. I thought this the moſt proper Way of treating the Subject in this Place, as it renders it evident to common Senſe, that 'tis impoſſible for *France* to trade on a level with us to *Spain* or *Portugal:* And yet from theſe, and theſe alone, muſt that Balance of Trade come, which is to be the Foundation

of

of that mighty Power, ſhe pretends to be capable of attaining to, and ſupporting at once both by Sea and Land: She is, out of this, to preſerve an Army of 200,000 Men on foot, ſupport an almoſt infinite Number of Garriſons, and keep up a Royal Fleet ſuperior to that of *Britain*; when, I think, 'tis very evident, that ſhe cannot poſſibly make one third Part of the Profit by a Trade with *Spain* and *Portugal*, which the *Engliſh* do, nor in any other Trade whatſoever, in which the *Engliſh* make any thing at all.

PERHAPS it may be objected, that I have wilfully omitted the Northern Trade; and it is only out of an Apprehenſion, that this Objection would be made, that I mention it at all. The *French* ſay, they trade thither to great advantage; but, I hope, not for any Balance in Specie; ſince, in truth, it is not to be had. The *French* may exchange their Wines, Brandies, Cloaths, Silks, Cambricks, and Toys for Naval Stores, Iron, Copper, and Lumber; but all theſe, by the way, at ſecond hand, by means of the *Dutch*, who are generally their Carriers, or rather what is worſe, trade between them; and if any thing more than Goods is to be got, the *Dutch* muſt of courſe have it. 'Tis of the laſt conſequence, that a Nation trades upon its own Bottoms. A Ship for inſtance may

coſt twelve thouſand Pounds fitting for a Voyage, including her Building, Stores, &c. She makes her Voyage, and the Gain is only ten thouſand Pounds; the Ship, with what remains, may ſell for two Thouſand. Here the Perſons concern'd get nothing; but the Nation is benefited equal to the Gain of the Voyage: For had the ſame Perſons traded on a foreign Bottom, neither they nor the Nation had got a Farthing of all this, which makes juſt ſo much difference. This, I think, is obvious to every Man's Underſtanding, and may contribute to ſolve a very important Problem in Trade; that is to ſay, How a Merchant may be ruin'd, while he enriches his Country, and ſupports many Individuals by the Profits of his Commerce. This likewiſe evinces the great Benefit of our Act of Navigation; an Act that ought to be eſteem'd ſacred; never to be deviated from, or alter'd in the leaſt tittle.

In Eſſay-writing it would be amiſs to enter into abſtruſe Calculations, ſuch as rather puzzle and perplex, than inform, or inſtruct the Reader. I have run over the Situation of Trade on general Principles, as it ſtands confeſs'd to the Knowledge of moſt People converſant in Buſineſs. This is one general Way of forming a Parallel between the two Nations: I ſhall now try it by another, more obvious to Gentlemen; and then

then make the Experiment by plain and notorious Facts.

If a Man is going to purchaſe an Eſtate, he is naturally enough induced, firſt to view it; then to examine the Tenants; and laſtly to conſider, whether its Riches and Produce anſwer its eſteem'd Value; and from thence concludes, whether the Tenants can hold it at the ſame Rent he is to purchaſe it at, or whether its eſteem'd Value be in a good meaſure imaginary, and rais'd to impoſe upon the Purchaſer. His way to know this is twofold; Firſt, to enquire, what other Farmers in the Neighbourhood would give for the ſame Land; and Secondly, how the Tenants live and thrive on their Rents.

Mr. *Deslandes* ſays his Country has a Balance in Trade of 7,000,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*; which, if true, is infinitely more than *Britain* can pretend to: It will follow from hence, that the *French* muſt be much richer than the *Engliſh*; and one muſt naturally conclude, that the Face of the Country would ſhew it in every Appearance conſequent upon Riches, in their Houſes, Gardens, Habits, Cultivations, Manufactures, and what not? And this not in here and there a place, but univerſally diffuſed over the Face of the Country. One Symptom it could not fail of bringing with it, and that

is

is Money in great plenty; to be had in great Sums, on ſhort Notice, and upon very eaſy Conditions.

Now ſuppoſe it poſſible that *England* and *France* were put up to Sale; and that there were in the World a Purchaſer, able and willing to buy one of them, and left to his Choice which to take, in order to make the moſt Intereſt of his Money: We will ſuppoſe likewiſe, that the ſame Price is ſet upon both: But when they come to treat, the *Engliſh* Agent eſtimates his Income at one Million; the *French* Agent his at ſeven Millions. This determines the intended Purchaſer in favour of *France*. However, he is reſolv'd to ſatisfy himſelf by ocular Demonſtration, and proper Enquiries on the ſpot. He accordingly travels through *France*; views, and conſiders the Face of the Country; inſpects their Metropolis, their Maritime, and Manufacture Towns; dives into the Courſe of their Trade, and negotiates Loans of Money: He calculates and conſiders all theſe things to a Nicety; and then travels into *England*. He comes to *London*, and there finds, that in one City alone, there is more Buſineſs done, more Shipping employed, and more Money to be negotiated, than in all *France* together. Would he not from hence reflect on the Groſſneſs of the Impoſition; and make his Choice accordingly? And would it not ſtill

add

add more to his Surpriſe, when he found the whole Country, in proportion, ſuitable to the Metropolis? Needs a Man, on this Occaſion, be under any neceſſity of entring into farther Particulars, or perplexing himſelf with wild imaginary Calculations, when the Difference is as obvious as Day?

SUCH Writers as Mr. *Deslandes* may then divert themſelves with imaginary Balances, as long as they pleaſe; when it is but looking upon their Country, and they muſt be condemn'd. Mr. *Du Tot* conceiv'd the thing better: He well knew, that ſuch idle *Gaſcoignades* were only miſleading the Sovereign into falſe Ideas of the State of his Dominions, and making him believe, he could raiſe immenſe Sums, where they were not to be had; and therefore gives him a more juſt and accurate State thereof. From whence we learn, that 'tis extremely difficult for an Arbitrary Sovereign to command in *France* a Revenue, equal to what a Free People voluntarily give in *England*, and which is paid out of one fourth Part of the Space of Country; one half of the King of *Great Britain's European* Dominions contributing little or nothing.

NOW as a true Parallel between the Maritime Power of the reſpective Nations is to be ſhewn from the inherent Riches of each, created by natural Products, Manufactures,

factures, and Commerce; and thence from the Revenues each Sovereign is capable of raiſing, in order to ſupport ſuch Power, it naturally leads us to conſider this laſt Article.

THE Revenues of *France* ordinary and extraordinary, by the account of their own Financiers, including *Lorraine*, do not amount to clear ſix Millions *per Annum* Sterling, which is not equal to the natural Revenues of *England* alone. They have out of this, firſt to pay the Intereſt of ſeventy five Millions remaining Debt, which at ſix *per Cent.* amounts to —— —— *L.* 4 500 000

The King's Houſhold and Penſions to the Princes of the Blood, *&c.*	1	000	000
To 200,000 Land-forces, at 1*s. per* Day *per* Man, including Officers and Contingencies.	3	650	000
To Garriſons, Stores, *&c.*	1	500	000
To the Regiſtred Militia.	0	500	000
To 40,000 Seamen, *&c.*	1	500	000
To Intendants, Port Charges, and building Ships, and Repairing, *&c.*	0	200	000
To Ambaſſadors, and Subſidies to Foreign Princes, Spies, *&c.*	2	000	000
	14	850	000
Clear Revenues.	6	000	000
Annual Debt created —— *L.*	8	850	000

THIS ſuppoſes *France* to keep up a Naval Power equal to *Britain.* It is pretended that the Arbitrary Power of a Sovereign can raiſe Money as long, as the People have any; and ſo has no occaſion to run in debt: But every Arbitrary Sovereign, on theſe Occaſions, finds himſelf in a worſe Dilemma, than a Free State. A Free State never attempts to take more than they find the Subject can conveniently raiſe; and what is wanted more, is borrowed on eaſy Terms; becauſe thoſe that lend are ſure that their Money is ſafe. An Arbitrary Prince is always guarded againſt; if he ſqueezes the People too far, he deſtroys their Trade, and prevents their aſſiſting him farther; they hide their Money; and if he muſt borrow, as his Faith is no Security, ſo the Lenders will riſe on their Demands for high Intereſt, well knowing, that as long as the Sovereign is under a neceſſity of borrowing, he muſt, for his own ſake, pay the Intereſt, if he never does the Principal. And this is not a mere Conceit of my own; but was the very Caſe of *Lewis* XIV. and is actually the very Caſe of *France* at this time; and the Credit of that Kingdom ſo much the worſe at this Juncture, as it has ſet a very bad Example, in wiping off near 100,000,000 with a Spunge, which never happen'd previous to *Lewis* XIV's borrowing. So that taking all things together, *France* is not only in a much worſe

Situation, as to the keeping up a Naval Power, than *Britain*; but than any other Nation in *Europe*, as ſhe has neither Money, nor Credit; but upon ſuch Terms as muſt ruin her, had ſhe all the Riches of *America* in aid.

THUS it is very plain, that, tho' at the firſt counting, *France* pays her Soldiers, and maintains her Navy, in proportion, at leſs Expence than *Britain*; yet conſidering her greater Number of Land-Forces and Garriſons, and the Increaſe of her Debts thereby, and the extravagant Intereſt ſhe muſt pay for Credit, ſhe in the whole pays much more than *Britain*; and is thereby abſolutely incapable of keeping a Naval Power long on foot. It was thus her Naval Power ſunk in the Reign of *Lewis* XIV; for *France* then neither wanted Ships, Mariners, or Officers; but ſhe wanted Money to purchaſe Stores, and Proviſions, and to pay the Officers and Men: Beſides, they had a lucky Trade in thoſe Days worth all they have now put together, from *St. Maloes* to the South Seas, in which we never attempted to interrupt them; and their Privateers did infinite miſchief to our Trade, and took a great Number of rich Prizes, the Benefits whereof *Lewis* employed to the Publick Service, and the *St. Maloes* Trade furniſh'd him with ſeveral Millions *Sterling*; yet all this

this together was ſo far from enabling him to keep up a Naval Power, that at the Concluſion of the Peace, it was as much as he could do to maintain a part of his Army.

If we compare the Circumſtances of *France* then, with what they are now, we ſhall find a vaſt difference. The Ships were then built, they are now to build: They had then experienc'd Officers, and Men form'd and inur'd to the Service; theſe are not of a ſudden to be had: The Nation at firſt ſetting out not in debt; now there is an old Debt of 75,000,000, and more created every day at a very high Intereſt. How then they will be able to build Ships, and keep them at Sea, on an Equality with *Great Britain*, unleſs Mr. *Deslandes* has ſome ſecret Reſources in ſtore, is not poſſible to be conceiv'd.

He ſpeaks of the Beauty and Fertility of his Country adjacent to the Ocean, and mentions that of his Neighbours as rocky, wild and barren: Who thoſe Neighbours are, is as difficult to diſcover, as any of his imaginary Reſources: If he means *England* or *Holland*, I may venture to ſay, that a ſquare Mile of Land in either, is worth three in *France*, and in many Places worth ten.

Thus *France* is to ſet herſelf up for a Dictator to *Europe* by Sea and Land, with-

out Trade, Caſh, Credit, or a Navy; purely upon a fictitious Conceit, that the Sovereign can command all the Subjects have; and that Limited Monarchies are not able to reſiſt him, becauſe a free People will not give their Sovereign every Farthing they have in the World. It happens very unluckily, that this Argument concludes directly on the wrong ſide; ſince thoſe, who give what is proper, and preſerve what is neceſſary, will always be in a better Situation, than thoſe who permit all they have to be ſquander'd away on Schemes of Knight-Errantry, and render themſelves thereby abſolutely incapable of doing what is quite neceſſary; ſuch as the keeping on foot a Naval Power, which can alone guard and protect their Commerce, and give them a Figure amongſt their Neighbours. This is an Affair, which the *French* in general very well underſtand; and ſhew us upon many occaſions what they are capable of doing, had they a ſuitable Government. They are thereby convinced, that an Arbitrary Power is not the beſt kind of Government to make them great: they are very ſenſible, that they ſhould be both more rich and powerful under another Form, and I believe never dreamt of what ſome of our *Engliſh* Writers preach, *viz.* that Abſolute Power is the moſt natural Road to Univerſal Monarchy; and that becauſe a *French* King can command at home, he is

to

to be dreaded abroad. But in the nature of things, the very Reverſe of this is true, unleſs he commands on ſuch Principles, as render it agreeable to his Subjects to obey; and then it's probable he will be attended with ſuitable Succeſs, which the preſent viſionary Politics of *France* ſeem not at all to incline to.

THESE and many other things conſider'd, induce me to conclude, that there may be other Nations more proper to ſtand in competition with *France* for Maritime Power and Commerce, than *Britain*; and ſeem more naturally to challenge a Parallel: The principal of which, I think, is *Denmark*. That Kingdom does not indeed ſeem to make quite ſo great a Figure, in ſo many Places, with her Merchant Ships, as *France* does; but then ſhe trades generally on a better Principle, and has better eſtabliſh'd native Products, and trades with *France* itſelf to advantage. The Sovereign is abſolute, as in *France*; but not ſo much in debt. The Navy, he pretends to keep up, he can always ſupport; which is more than *France* can do, nor is *France* able to keep up ſo good a one. The King of *Denmark*'s Government is uniform, and of a piece: The Government of *France* not actuated by the ſame Maxims a twelvemonth together. To-day a Prince of the Blood, to-morrow a Prieſt, and the next, a private

private Gentleman rules the Roaſt. The King of *Denmark* is uſually his own Miniſter; his Subjects Taxes are low, and ſuch as they can conveniently bear; he enters into no Engagements but ſuch as are advantageous, ſuch as enrich both himſelf and Subjects: *France* never into any, but what tend to their Impoveriſhment and Deſtruction. *Denmark* purſues no Conqueſts, but ſuch as ſhe can with eaſe and certainty attain, and ſuch as when attain'd give luſtre to her Crown, and Strength to her Naval Power and Commerce. *France* is graſping at every thing, and attaining nothing; or if ſhe ever gains any thing, it is by Fraud, and at infinite Expence, and, as long as ſhe can keep it, is a blemiſh on her Honour; and when oblig'd to part with it again, ſhe is a Loſer of double the Value. So that taking all things together, *Denmark* is in a Situation too exalted to be brought in to form a Parallel with *France*.

SWEDEN too has infinitely the advantage of *France* in native Commodities; and, as well as *Denmark*, has ſuch as *France* cannot do without, but can itſelf do without every Commodity that *France* produces; ſo has much the advantage of her in that reſpect. If ſhe ſometimes takes Subſidies from *France*, it is purely thereby to enrich herſelf, and render *France* poorer, who is indeed the common Bubble of the North.

SWEDEN

SWEDEN is in every reſpect in a better Condition to keep up a Naval Power, than *France*, as ſhe has every thing at home to do it with, and much better Men to mann it; and is ſufficiently prepar'd, in that reſpect, for any, ſhe has to contend with. Her Commerce is moderate; but then her Taxes are ſo too: And if her Gain in that reſpect be not equal to that of *France*, her Expences are infinitely leſs; and in the whole is palpably richer, becauſe ſhe is out of debt: And her Faith, if neceſſary, will always give her Credit at low Intereſt, which is a Point that *France* with all her affected Grandeur will never be able to attain to in the courſe of her preſent Politics. *France* has a happy Climate, but *Sweden*, what is better, a happy Conſtitution; and her People eſteem it better to be warm, well-fed, and clad in a cold Climate, than cold, and hungry, and ragged in a warm one. Her Navy, and ſuch as ſhe can honeſtly maintain, is much ſuperior to any thing of the kind, *France* can pretend to.

THUS it is obvious, that whilſt *France* has the Preſumption to contend with *Britain*, for an Equality of Power in an Article, that *Britain* alone can ſupport with any kind of Eclat, ſhe is out-done, in that very Article, by every petty Monarchy in *Europe*:

rope: And is ſo far from being in a State of Glare and Luſtre, that ſhe only needs be attack'd at home, to convince the World, of how little ſignificance that Kingdom is, the Baſis of whoſe Power is a Dream, and the great Opinion, the World has of her, erected by her own Gaſcoignades.

I Am now to ſhew the preſent State of *Great Britain.* All her Revenues, except the Land and Window Tax, are rais'd upon the worſt Principle imaginable, as being laid on Merchandize and vendible Commodities; by which means the Duties really paid by the Conſumer amount to three times the real Revenue, which I conceive to be much the ſame, as in *France, viz.* about ſix Millions. The great Number of Commodities on which they are rais'd, and the Variation of one Year from another, render this Affair a little too perplex'd to reduce it to an abſolute Certainty, tho' I were to enumerate all the Commodities, and their attendant Rates: But this I am very clear in, and have proved it in another place, that if the Revenues be ſix Millions, the People pay eighteen Millions, and that without being impoveriſh'd. Therefore if the Nature of theſe Taxes were alter'd, the Revenues would be eighteen Millions, and the People in no worſe Situation than now. On the other hand, if *France* does but attempt to raiſe

nine

nine Millions, the People complain of being ruin'd.

THIS, tho' it expreſſes our ill Judgment in the manner of raiſing the Revenues, yet it ſhews at the ſame time, *France* cannot regularly raiſe half the Money that *Great Britain* actually does. But taking things as they are under the preſent bad Management, which can't of a ſudden be remedy'd, it will appear, that we have no need to raiſe ſo much as *France*.

The Intereſt of our public Debts amounts to —— —	*l.* 2	000	000
40,000 Seamen including Stores, *&c.*	2	080	000
40,000 Land-Forces and Contingencies.	1	200	000
Ordinary of the Navy.	0	120	000
Guards and Garriſons.	0	500	000
Subſidies and extra Charges.	0	600	000
Civil Liſt.	0	800	000
Total Expences *L.*	7	300	000

Which is almoſt eight Millions leſs, than *France* is oblig'd to raiſe; if ſhe will carry on a Land War, in the manner ſhe now does, and will at the ſame time attempt to equal us at Sea: And as ſhe muſt pay as much Intereſt for borrowing of one Million, as we do for two, how it is poſſible for

her to carry on ſuch a War, is infinitely beyond my Comprehenſion.

HER Contrivance to cut us off from a Trade with *Spain* will not avail her much; ſince we yet carry it on in ſome meaſure, and ſhe cannot now trade with them to much more advantage, than before; and in many reſpects not to ſo much. We have ſeen above, that ſhe cannot take off the native Products of *Spain*, nor can *Spain* now come at Caſh, to pay the Returns. We can yet trade through *Holland*, *Portugal*, and *Puerto Bello* in a better manner, than ſhe can trade to the open Ports in *Spain*: And if *France* is ſuffer'd to trade to the South Seas, the Commerce of *Sevil* muſt be ruin'd.

FRANCE has entirely loſt her Commerce with the *Auſtrian* Dominions, which was of as much importance to her, as any Trade ſhe had; and what ſhe has acquir'd in lieu thereof, does not any where appear. In the whole, this War may, and does, hurt us; but not any way adequate to the Miſchief it does to thoſe, who were the Authors of it, and who inſtead of being able to rival us on the Ocean, can never be long able to ſupport it by Land.

THE *French* can and muſt bear a good deal more than we, who are naturally a very impatient

impatient People; but Patience itſelf is one of thoſe Virtues, which never ſubſiſts long under extreme Neceſſity. A Sovereign may have all the Power, his Heart can wiſh, and his People be as dutiful, as the Nature of Man can admit of; yet their being too deeply diſtreſs'd, may naturally enough change their Diſpoſitions; and when once this comes to be the Caſe, the very Being of Arbitrary Power immediately ceaſes to exiſt; for it is only ſupported by the Patience and Mean-Spiritedneſs of the People: And conſequently, as the real Power always reſts in the Body of the People, whenever their Patience fails, their Spirits riſe, and they immediately aſſume that Power, which by Nature they are abſolutely intitled to. All Power is delegated into particular Hands, for the Good of the Community; and whenever it happens to be ſenſibly felt, that this End is not purſued, the Obligation itſelf ceaſes, and the People reſume their natural Rights.

To preſume a Sovereign can proſecute long a ruinous War, becauſe he is abſolute, is at beſt but preſuming, that it is in his power to ruin himſelf, and his Country; but how this can give him influence amongſt his Neighbours, or render him of more importance, than if he made his People rich and happy, is a Soleciſm in common Senſe, which I wiſh ſome of our *Engliſh* Writers,

who are terrify'd at, and argue for the Imaginary Power and Influence of *France*, would give us ſome Rule to judge better of. Now that this muſt ſoon be the Caſe of *France*, to me ſeems very obvious, as it muſt do to all Mankind, if they believe themſelves, when they ſay, That *Great Britain* muſt naturally ſink under the Weight of her preſent and accumulating Debts. But then what muſt *France* do, who now pays above twice as much Intereſt, as *Britain*, and accumulates fourfold; and has not half the Riches and natural Reſources of *Britain*, to her Aid.

THERE are thouſands who think, that *France* has wiped off all her Debts; and from thence conclude, that what ſhe has done, ſhe may always do: However, the Fact is not only falſe, but the Concluſion ridiculous. What *France* has done in this reſpect, has injur'd her Credit more, than what all the Money amounted to, and obliges her to pay ſuch extravagant Intereſt, as that, if a Debt continues any conſiderable Time unpaid, and at laſt the Principal is wiped off, the Lenders may be ſufficient Gainers. Many there were in the laſt War, who throve by this Method, tho' Numbers were ruin'd by it; at the Concluſion whereof *Great Britain*, and *France*, made a very different Appearance. *France* had ruin'd her

her Navy, and laid the Remains of it up to rot, as being unable to employ them: Her Commerce was ſunk to nothing; and her Revenues not four Millions, which would not pay one third part of the Intereſt on her Debts.

On the contrary, the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, her Commerce, and Revenues were all improv'd; yet at the beginning of that War, *France* made a much more, *Britain* a much leſs, illuſtrious Figure, than either do at preſent: And this the very Nature and Reaſon of things, conſider'd with what I have ſaid before, will render very apparent.

It has been much the common Talk, that *Britain* has no Allies: From whence theſe Reaſoners conclude, that *France* has got the Direction of all *Europe* into her own hands, and conſequently can act as ſhe pleaſes. It muſt indeed be allowed, that the *French* ſeem ambitious to have all the World think thus: For to this purpoſe they raiſe Armies, and pay extravagant Subſidies: But after murdering fifty thouſand Men in one Campaign, and running themſelves ſeven or eight Millions in debt, they find all their important Acquiſitions to centre in a gradual Progreſs towards Deſtruction; and in piquing themſelves on their Alliances, and

and I know not what imaginary Conceit of directing the Affairs of *Europe*, they can meet with nothing but Diſappointment and Poverty. This is, at beſt, but like a Madman's acting the Monarch in *Bedlam*, and periſhing in the Conceit of a thing, that will ever keep him in the ſame Condition.

It was thus the *French* ran about directing *Europe* for half a Century, fighting and making Alliances; till, after having murther'd one Part of the People, baniſhed another, ruin'd all the reſt, and got above one hundred and ſeventy Millions *Sterling* in debt, they were content at laſt to beg a Peace, and leave this darling Power of directing in the hands of thoſe, who underſtood the Meaning and Uſe of it to be, the univerſal Good and Welfare of Mankind.

At length *Lewis* vaniſh'd, and this evil Spirit, by the Virtue of a Prince Regent, was conjur'd down into one of the Fountains of *Verſailles*; to remain for a time drench'd in the cool Stream, the ſolitary Comrade of immoveable Statues, till rais'd again by the Art of a Cardinal, and let looſe to plague the World.

Thenceforward, not only the Cabinets and Courts of Princes; but the Coffee-houſes,

houſes, and Places of public Reſort, became haunted with this Phantom, who under the Character of *Monſieur Balance*, like *Hamlet*'s Ghoſt, was here, there, every where, and no where. The *Britiſh* Politicians inſiſted he was at *Paris*; while the *French* Connoiſſeurs perſiſted as ſtrongly in his being at *London*: But the Cardinal, who was beſt ſenſible where he had ſent him, knew him to be alternately at *Madrid*, *Berlin*, and *Stockholm*, acting the Part of an Incendiary, and contriving to ſet *Europe* in a flame: And to ſupport him in theſe laudable Endeavours, one Mr. *Deslandes* was ſpirited up, to convince the World of the Inſignificance of the Maritime Power and Commerce of *Great Britain*, when ſet in competition with that of *France*. And it is affirmed by ſome who were in the Cardinal's Secrets, that the evil Spirit ſometimes took a Trip inviſible to *Britain*; and only ſhew'd himſelf in all his frightful Forms, and horrid Appearances, to a certain Miniſter and his Colleagues, and had ſuch a terrible Effect on their Fancies, that a Rumour immediately ſpread of an Invaſion from *France*.

MONSIEUR BALANCE now began to be in ſome repute in the World, and enter'd upon his Province of weighing the reſpective Powers of *Europe*: He pois'd *Sweden* againſt *Ruſſia*,

Ruſſia, *Pruſſia* againſt *Hungary*, and *Spain* againſt *England*; and made *France* the Arbitrator of the Balance, who being prejudiced, gave his Opinion partially: But, contrary to all that was blaz'd about in favour of this Arbitration, it prov'd at length, that the Imagination of a Prieſt was not the beſt Principle for *Princes* to act upon; the Scale, when it was fairly pois'd, operated in a direct Contraſt to what *Monſieur* had given out: *Ruſſia* out-pois'd *Sweden*, *Hungary Pruſſia*, and *England Spain*. The *Britiſh* Fleet, notwithſtanding all Mr. *Deslandes*'s Predictions, reign'd triumphant on the Ocean; and *France* got well bang'd in more Places than one, for her partial Arbitration.

FRANCE now pretends, that ſhe never deſign'd either an Invaſion, or to vie with us in Maritime Power, for the preſent; but only to rob us of our Commerce by degrees, and then to try what ſhe could do with our Fleet. In order whereto, ſhe has found means to render her commercial Affairs more eaſy in their univerſal Operations, by preventing thoſe, concern'd in Trade, from loſing their Time, or neglecting their Buſineſs, in endleſs and perplext Law-Suits, and by removing, as much as poſſible, all kind of Obſtructions to their laudable Purſuits, for the public Utility; well knowing that it muſt give them a great Advantage over the *Britiſh* Merchants, a great part of whoſe time is ſpent

ſpent in *Weſtminſter-Hall* a cavilling about Trifles, and ſpending that Wealth upon a Jargon of Words, which ſhould be employ'd to the Benefit of their Country; and the little time they have to ſpare, from their Attendance on the Lawyers, is to be employ'd in taking Oaths at the Cuſtom Houſe, which being fram'd ſo contrary to a Poſſibility of being conform'd to, are broke the inſtant they are taken.

COMMERCE, my Lord, is of that kind of Plants, that cannot riſe and flouriſh on the ſame Bed with ſuch other, as by Nature it has an Antipathy to; but bends its head the contrary way, as not caring to be embrac'd by what it loaths. It is certain, that Commerce cannot bear a greater Antipathy to any thing, than to Interruption; and this can be cauſed by nothing ſo much as by the tedious Delays and Perplexities of the Law, which is Literal and not Literal: It is Cuſtom and not Cuſtom, Equity and not Equity; in a word, it is this, that, any thing, or nothing, as the Practiſers diſplay, and the Pleaders jargoniſe it: It is one continued Contradiction and Uncertainty, and naturally enough diſorders, and interrupts that beautiful methodis'd Harmony, which is the Life and Soul of a well-eſtabliſhed Trade; whoſe Spirit and Influence evaporates and wears away, as ſhe is interrupted or play'd the fool with.

An eaſy, cheap and ſpeedy Way of recovering a Right, or adjuſting a Difference is what all Mankind are intitled to in common; but thoſe more eſpecially, whoſe very Being depends upon Diſpatch. The Law, to be ſure, in its preſent State, operates very differently, according to the Courſe of Life or Buſineſs, which the reſpective Individuals purſue. A mere Man of Fortune, a Courtier, or Officer in the Army, may, with the Aſſiſtance of a happy Turn of Mind, render the moſt perplex'd and litigious Law-Suit, a Diverſion; nay, I am not certain, but ſuch a Scheme for employing their vacant time, may turn infinitely to their Emolument; as it may be the means of teaching them a Trade, they would otherwiſe never have dreamt of learning; and to attain which, many Men of good ſound Parts wear out the beſt part of their Time, Health and Spirits, and read, note, and digeſt as many Volumes, as would have half furniſh'd the famous *Alexandrian* Library, which took up ſome Months in burning. Your Lordſhip is as ſenſible as any Man living, that all Improvements of our Underſtandings in the Knowledge of Art and Science are generally beneficial, and can't fail in ſome ſenſe or other of turning to account: Notwithſtanding which, it is never the leſs certainly true, that what may be

Sport

Sport and Edification to the above Gentlemen, to People turn'd to Maritime Affairs, to Trade, and Commerce, muſt be Miſery, Deſtruction and Death: Since ſo much Time loſt, ſo much Attendance and Vexation muſt neceſſarily make them quite ſick, both of the Law, and their own Affairs; which muſt conſequently drive every one out of Buſineſs, that can poſſibly live without it: And moreover, it will be apt to give their Heads a wrong Turn, and inſpire them with a Tendency to Perplexity and Confuſion, the fatal Adverſaries of Trade and Induſtry.

THIS duely conſider'd, how neceſſary will it appear that relief be ſought after, in favour of thoſe Branches of the Community, on whoſe Peace and Proſperity all the reſt abſolutely depend. In this reſpect, our good Neighbours the *French* riſe ſuperior in their Politics, and have ſet us an Example, I conceive, not to be contemn'd, by conſtituting Commercial Courts; and thereby excuſing this part of the Community, who have ſomething better to mind, from loſing their time in attending the ordinary Courts of Juſtice. It ſurely could not be amiſs, if we had in *England*, for this ſpecial Purpoſe, a Sett of conciſe Laws, Commercial Courts and ſummary Proceedings. I dare ſay, all the Laws neceſſary to this purpoſe may be

compris'd in a ſmall Octavo Volume; and if the Lawyers have no hand in compiling them, it may be never the worſe; for then they may be readily underſtood by the Members of the meaneſt Corporations, and be accordingly comply'd with. To which good end, however it may break in upon the regular Courſe of my Eſſay, I beg leave to propoſe the following Hints, as the Baſis of ſo uſeful and illuſtrious a Structure.

LET the Corporation of the City of *London* form a Body of Commercial Laws.

LET them be communicated to every principal trading Town in *Great Britain*, and when their Approbation is obtain'd,

LET the ſame be brought into Parliament, to be conſider'd and enacted into a Law.

LET every County have a Court of Commerce erected in its principal, and every other trading Town; the leſſer Appealing, when neceſſary, to the Greater.

LET ſuch Courts be compos'd of the incorporated Power, or if none, of the principal Traders, elected by a Majority of the People in Trade.

THEIR Power ought to be enforced by Diſtreſs infinite; and no Perſon to be impri-

ſon'

ſon'd, but where he refuſes to perform a Decree, to the utmoſt of his Abilities, or for plain Frauds, or diſorderly Behaviour: And in all Caſes for a time limited.—I preſume it's needleſs to ſay more on this Head: If ſuch a Scheme can be executed, I have laid a ſufficient Foundation; and, I dare ſay, there are Heads and Hearts enough in the Nation able and willing to mature it; if not, I have ſaid enough to no purpoſe. Your Lordſhip's Influence and Inclination may both contribute to ſo eligible a Deſign, and you can't want Aſſiſtance in proſecuting it to effect: The difference it would make in the Revenue might be eaſily balanced, and the good it would produce, be to your eternal Honour.

THOSE who talk of every Amendment being a Breach in the Conſtitution, may as well ſay a ſick Man is not to be cured, but rather ſuffer'd to die neglected. Such Language becomes only a Sett of Writers, for whom I know not a name bad enough, or if I did, would not blemiſh an Addreſs to your Lordſhip by fixing on Individuals indelible Marks of Infamy. Our Conſtitution, when firſt form'd, knew nothing of either the Nature or Name of Commerce. We were then only a bold fighting People; but had even then lower Courts conſtituted in the reſpective Counties, to anſwer all the neceſſary

good

good Ends of the Times, which would be very uſeful now, and which for flagrant Reaſons, are diſcountenanced and neglected. While they operated properly, the Oppreſſions of the preſent Times were not known: However, were they even encouraged again, they would, in no ſenſe, anſwer the Ends of commercial Affairs; becauſe ſuch would not be underſtood in them; as indeed they rarely are in our higher Courts: And this is the Means of creating infinite Inconveniencies in Maritime and Commercial Matters.

COMMERCE, to act as it ought, ſhould have but one Head, Hand, and Heart, and thoſe fix'd in the United Body of the Government and People. Mr. *De Witt*, a Perſon well known in both the Literary and Political World, remarks, that tho' they found it very difficult to overreach the *Engliſh* Merchants, yet they had none on that account with the Court. He liv'd and wrote in a Time, when *Engliſh* Princes had ſomething elſe in their heads, beſides Trade, and the Welfare of the Community. His Inference is in general very juſt, when he obſerves, that a Commonwealth has a great Advantage over a Monarchy in point of Commerce, the Rulers of a Commonwealth being themſelves generally Traders; a Prince and his Court uſually of a quite contrary Turn: They are generally

rally ſo bred up and accuſtom'd to Pomp, Parade, and Pleaſure, as muſt naturally enough divert them from attending to Schemes for the Encouragement of laudable Induſtry. By this means it generally happens, that not only Trade is better attended to in Commonwealths, but domeſtic Magiſtracy alſo; tho', at the ſame time, nothing is more obvious, than that the richer the People are, and the better they are govern'd, the Prince is more illuſtrious and regarded: And altho' this be very evident, and tho' few Princes are ſo defective in Penetration, as not to diſcern it, yet it too often happens, in many Monarchies, that thoſe who ſurround, and as it were impriſon the Prince, have their Hearts ſo ardently ſet on making opulent Fortunes of a ſudden, that they will rather proſecute any immediate Scheme tending to that end, tho' it be to the Ruin of both their Sovereign and Country, than be content, by coinciding with the general Good of the Community, to raiſe a moderate Fortune in a fair and gradual manner. This, it muſt be confeſs'd, has been the Caſe ſometimes in this Nation; that when a Bill has been brought into Parliament, for the Encouragement of Commerce, or the promoting ſome good Law for the Benefit of the Community, the Queſtion has not been about what Good it would produce, or what beneficial End it would anſwer,

for

for the Welfare of the Nation; but how many Exciſe or Cuſtom-houſe Officers it would create; how much improve the Royal Revenue, and how it would contribute to feather their own Neſts: as if the Good of the People entirely depended on the Fooleries of a Court, or the Magnificence of Paraſites. *France* has labour'd generally under ſuch Politics; yet now and then has deviated from them with an Addreſs, that would have been an Honour to ſome of her Neighbours to have imitated.

I HAVE known, even in the City of *London*, a Man of good Faſhion travelling about from Coffee-houſe to Coffee-houſe, in order to prove that the *Engliſh* have too much Trade, and that it would be better if they had leſs; and has ſtated his Propoſition, or rather his Paradox, dependent on ſuch a Variety of Particulars, as were generally underſtood by few; and, by thoſe well vers'd, too prolix to be decided in a Day's Diſpute: So that what with the Uncommonneſs of the Problem, and its affected Prolixity, the Hero generally mov'd off unconvicted, to his great Honour, and the Emolument of his Hearers. The truth is, that a Man of this Turn has generally much the Advantage of his Adverſaries, he being prepar'd with a good Stock of Particulars, and Maſter of a Fund of common-place Arguments:

Arguments. His Adverſaries not only unguarded and unprepar'd; but generally unacquainted with the Matter in Argument, or their Heads more uſefully employed about their own Buſineſs.

As odd, or as improbable a Character, as this Gentleman appear'd in, ſuch a one there really was, and is ſtill ſubſiſting in public; and many ſuch there are in private, who bend their whole Thoughts to diſcredit Commerce, and to reduce us into the Situation of the Highland Clans; where the only Diſtinction is *Laird* and *Vaſſal.* If Attempts of this nature could be render'd criminal in the Eye of the Law as they are of common Senſe; and I had the Direction of the Puniſhment, it ſhould be to baniſh them to *Amſterdam* for Life; where they ſhould be eternally tormented with the Plague, Noiſe, and Hurry of Buſineſs, and would have nothing rung in their Ears, but the various Regards to Commerce, with all their attendant Horrors. This would he ſomething like the poetical Puniſhment in *Virgil,*——*Æn.* VI.

——*Lucent Genialibus Altis*
Aurea fulcra toris, &c.

They lie below, on golden Beds diſplay'd.

ENGLAND, for ſix hundred Years paſt, has ſhar'd Trade in common with her Neighbours; and barter'd with Strangers her own Products in diſtant Times farther than our Hiſtories can recount with any Certainty: but where-ever Hiſtory furniſhes us with any certain Knowledge of our Commerce, the ſame Hiſtory delivers down to us an Account of the various Interruptions it has met with from Courtiers and Fox-hunters; until the ever-memorable Reign of *Elizabeth* gave a check to their impenetrable Ignorance, and forc'd them, in ſpite of Nature, to put on the external Behaviour of rational Creatures, and concur in the beneficial Purſuits of a wiſe and diſcerning Princeſs, and of thoſe two Immortal Men, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*. Here *Britain* ſhone in her native Sphere with true Spirit and Dignity; tho' but for one Reign.

HER Succeſſor brought in with him, from the North, (with Witches, and other ſuperſtitious Fooleries) a Reliſh for Vaſſalage and Poverty; and again reviv'd that Spirit of Ignorance and Darkneſs, which had been in a great meaſure conjur'd down, or baniſhed in the preceding Reign. He was call'd the *Solomon* of the Age, for the ſame Reaſon, that the *Pope* is call'd the Vicar or Vicegerent of *Jeſus Chriſt*, one would imagine

imagine by way of Irony, as acting in a direct Contraſt. *Solomon* encouraged Commerce, enriched his Dominions, and, according to the way of ſpeaking in the Eaſt, pav'd his Metropolis with Gold. *James* ſuffer'd us to be robb'd of the then beſt Branches of our Commerce, by a People, who but a little before would have thought it an Honour to have been our Subjects. *Raleigh* was murther'd, and every other Act done, that might contribute to revive the Reign of Ignorance and Poverty; when inſtead of the Comforts and Delights of Life, and inſtead of ſound Learning and extenſive Knowledge, we were to rejoice in Rags, and to be glorious and ennobled on the Credit of Puns and Conundrums. Fox-hunting Principles now ſhone in full Vigour, and nothing ſo much diſcours'd of, as the Landed Intereſt, and the Folly of Trade, which only made People rich and impertinent, and prevented them paying due Adoration to the Moon in its Wain: Reſpect to Superiors got the better of Wealth and Wiſdom; and Pedantry, Superſtition, and Nonſenſe, reign'd triumphant.

In thoſe Days was born the Soul and Genius of Commerce in *France:* One, who in the courſe of his Education, became a Prieſt; to convince the World, that where

Wiſdom dwells in the Mind of Man, it is not to be rooted out by the worſt of Prejudices. His ſuperior Underſtanding inſtructed him early in the glorious Advantages of Commerce, *viz.* that it muſt be the Baſis of a Royal Navy, and of the Riches and Welfare of the Community. His penetrating Genius diſcover'd, that the Magnificence of his Sovereign, the Improvement of Lands, the Dignity, Luſtre and Influence of the State, as well as his own Grandeur, all depended on the judicious Purſuit of this Point, which increaſing on a warm Imagination, render'd him quite Romantic; for after having purſued every rational Meaſure that might conduce to this important End, he propoſed, as Mr. *Deslandes* ſays, to have form'd a Company for the promoting of Commerce, under the Title of, *La Nacelle de Saint Pierre Fleur-deliſſée*, i. e. *The Bark of St. Peter Flower-deluced.* This was to have directed the whole Commerce of the Nation, and, contrary to the natural Genius of the *French*, as well as of ſome *Engliſh*, the Nobility were in no ſenſe to be diſparag'd by acting in a mercantile Character. Mr. *Deslandes*, amongſt many Thoughts ſufficiently wild and bombaſt, makes this judicious Reflection, *viz.* "Is it "not indeed extraordinary, that the Arts of "deſtroying Men's Lives ſhould ennoble, "and that This of preſerving them, of pro-

"curing

" curing the Neceſſaries, the Conveniencies,
" and even the Delights of Life, ſhould be
" thought a Debaſement?"

In thoſe times the Spirit of Oppoſition, tho' differently actuated, alike poſſeſs'd both Nations. The Genius of the People of *France*, buried and abſorpt in Indolence, oppoſed the happy enterpriſing Genius of the *French* Miniſtry, but were over-power'd by a ſteady purſuit of laudable Induſtry, which gradually improv'd and triumph'd. The Court of *Great Britain* uſed every Art to perplex, diſtreſs, and leſſen Commerce, with a Spirit of Infatuation wholly new and unprecedented: But the People, who had ſo lately taſted the Sweets of different Meaſures, were not to be punn'd out of their Trade. They ſtill puſh'd it on, and in deſpight of the Court, and of all its Arts and Oppoſitions, improv'd in Wealth and Opulence; and thereby enabled themſelves to act on the Principles of rational Creatures, and laugh at all Attempts on their Liberties, through the Courſe of two Reigns. In the middle of the latter, amongſt many more, one Great Man aroſe, and ſhone the Prince and Patron of Maritime Power and Commerce, who convinced the World, that the *Engliſh* needed only a proper Head to be rever'd; and known and regarded amongſt their Neighbours, in a Light and Figure equal

equal to the moſt illuſtrious of the Ancients. During this little ſpace, we were neither robb'd by the *Dutch*, duped by the *Spaniard*, nor bubbled by the *French:* And notwithſtanding inteſtine Diviſions, and ſuch numerous Armies, as would have ruin'd any other Country, leſs ably manag'd; yet the Spirit of Commerce ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties, and render'd us proſperous and wealthy.

ANOTHER kind of Government ſucceeded, which purſued very different Meaſures: Our Honour was laid in the Duſt: We were thrown down, as from a lofty Precipice, and render'd as contemptible, as bad Government could make us: We were not only beat by the *Dutch*, inſulted in our own Harbours, and bubbled by all our Neighbours; but reduced ſo low, as to become Penſioners to *France*; while the Court and Miniſtry made the moſt brilliant Appearance, and ſpent their whole Time and Thoughts in Revelling and Gaiety. All our Schemes of Politics, ſuch as they were, were regulated, and purſued under the Direction of Whores, Jack-Puddings, and Popiſh Prieſts: A bleſſed time for *France!* who then form'd a Balance of Trade againſt us of ſeveral Millions annually. However, innate Induſtry, and a natural Thirſt after Commerce, ſupported us through it all; until our

honeſt

honeſt Neighbours the *Dutch*, in order to make us ſome kind of Reparation for former Injuries, and to ſhew it was poſſible for them to be grateful, join'd to their own Intereſt, the Effects of an unaccountable Marriage, and their wanting to get rid of a Maſter, contributed to help us out of this terrible Dilemma, and put us in a Condition once more to reſume our former Dignity and Luſtre.

THE Revolution put a full ſtop to the Career of enriching *France*, by raiſing the Duties in *England* very high on ſome of their Commodities, and prohibiting others; ſo that the Balance of Trade, which had been ſome Millions Annually in favour of *France*, in the preceding Reigns, came now to be reduced under one Million. This continued till the War, which cauſed a general Prohibition, and loſt to *France* the fineſt Trade ſhe could poſſibly ever have, or can ever have again.

ON the ſigning of the Treaty of *Reyſwick*, the Commerce between the two Nations open'd again; but it neither held long, nor enjoy'd many of its previous Advantages in favour of *France*. A War ſucceeding, join'd to the Effects of the famous Edict of *Nantz*, lower'd the Power of *France* ſufficiently, not only by loſing her the beſt Trade ſhe

ſhe had; but alſo by her having driven away her own Manufacturers, and thereby obliged them to employ their Talents in favour of her Enemies. By theſe means, her inland Trade and Manufactures ſunk almoſt to nothing, while the ſame roſe, and flouriſh'd in *England*, *Holland*, and at *Geneva*. The Riches which *France* had acquir'd in the preceding Times, render'd the ill Effects of her bad Counſels, undiſcern'd for a time; but a ten Years War convinced her fully of the fatal Conſequences: for it had not only the bad Effect of deſtroying her inland Trade; but her Maritime Power alſo; ruining the Merchants and Manufacturers, and conſequently all that depended upon them. And accordingly ſhe was, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in a very deplorable State, unable to raiſe Taxes, and the Government beſides upwards of 170,000,000 *l.* Sterling in debt, at a high Intereſt. On the contrary, *England* found herſelf, at the making of the ſaid Treaty, both as to her Manufactures, and Commerce, in a much better Situation, than at the Commencement of the War. Indeed the Government, to avoid loading the Subject too much, had got 50,000,000 *l.* in debt; ſome part of which has been ſince annihilated, and the Intereſt in general very much lower'd. *France* to be, as much as poſſible, on an equality with us in that reſpect, purſued a Method, I have mention'd before,

before, of entirely annihilating one hundred Millions with the ſtroke of a Pen. But in conſequence of reducing her Debts by this infamous Method, ſhe has loſt her Credit for ever.

THE long Peace ſince has furniſh'd her with means of recovering herſelf, in ſome meaſure; and by the Neceſſity ſhe was under of throwing all her Trade, by the Loſs of her ſtaple Manufactures, into her Maritime Towns, revived the Spirit of Commerce, and inſpir'd it with new Life and Vigour; but has not been able to raiſe it to any thing near the Height it was, at the Commencement of the laſt War. The Trade with *England* ſtill is one of the beſt ſhe has; but by this it is impoſſible for her to gain 200,000 *l.* a Year, which on the Commencement of another War, muſt be again entirely loſt to her.

IT is impoſſible for her by any means to retrieve the glorious Situation ſhe was in at the Revolution, or even at the Commencement of the laſt War; and conſequently can never again be in the like Condition for carrying on a long and expenſive Conteſt: Her Navy is all to build; the old Ships, ſhe can now fit out, with thoſe ſhe forces from the Merchants, not only cannot laſt long; but muſt likewiſe prejudice her Commerce, in proportion, as they raiſe her Navy.

On the contrary, the raiſing the Navy of *England*, ſuppoſe it ſhould be neceſſary to increaſe it, will rather protect and improve the *Britiſh* Commerce; and the Expence thereof is ſo far from hurting *England*, that it is not only done with the utmoſt Facility, but always contributed to with infinite Pleaſure and Satisfaction. The *Engliſh* glory in it, and are determin'd to ſupport it, not only becauſe it gives Dignity to the State, and ſupports our Commerce; but even upon Principles of imaginary Honour.

How therefore, conſidering all things, by this plain Method of Reaſoning, *France* is in any ſenſe able to make a Figure in Maritime Affairs, in competition with *Great Britain*, is left to be made out, by ſuch of our Countrymen, or others, as are terrify'd at, or prejudiced in favour of, the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which I ſhall now treat of, in another light. The Thirſt of acquiring Univerſal Monarchy, has been the Foundation of all the Diſputes about Wealth and Power; which Nation is the moſt wealthy and powerful, has always been the Queſtion? From whence we may conclude it is an eſtabliſh'd Maxim, That Wealth is the Baſis of Power; and, I believe it will be eaſily allow'd, that Wealth is no way to be

be acquir'd, but by Commerce; and Commerce no way to be eſtabliſh'd and aſcertain'd, but under the Conduct, and Protection, of a naval Force.

THAT Nation therefore, which regularly and conſtantly ſupports the moſt powerful Navy, bids faireſt for Univerſal Monarchy. Thoſe People, whoſe Imaginations are fill'd with the Viſionary Power of *France*, and are ſenſible, at the ſame time, that her Bottom will not regularly ſupport a Navy, if ſhe could readily raiſe one, form in her favour wild and indigeſted Schemes of Conqueſts, in order to create a Naval Power, and enable her to maintain it. In order to this, they give her able Stateſmen, wiſe and experienced Generals, and invincible Armies. With theſe ſhe is firſt to deſtroy the Houſe of *Auſtria*, conquer all her Dominions, and then eaſily enough to make herſelf Miſtreſs of the *United Provinces:* And conſequently of a Navy, with ſuitable Wealth to ſupport it. Such Perſons as theſe, like true Projectors, only ſee one ſide of the Queſtion, and That perhaps infinitely the worſt; and have revolved it in their Minds ſo long, as to eſtabliſh its Veracity, and make it impoſſible ever afterwards to be eradicated. But as many Men may yet remain unprepoſſeſs'd, and their Minds open, free, and unprejudiced by whimſical, dogmatic Syſtems, I

ſhall beg leave to ſhew the other ſide of the Queſtion.

Suppose then (for Suppoſition can hurt nobody) that it ſhould happen quite contrary; that the *French* inſtead of beating, ſhould be themſelves beat; and inſtead of ſwallowing up the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and conquering the *United Provinces*, they ſhould themſelves be reduced to ſuch a State, as with difficulty to defend their own Frontiers. Suppoſe farther, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were reſolved to deſtroy the *French* Commerce, and thereby cut them off from all the means of ſupporting an Army, or almoſt ſubſiſting at any rate, which of thoſe Powers would bid faireſt for Univerſal Monarchy? I think it plainly apparent, that Monſieur would have but a faint Proſpect of ſuch a thing. In truth, conſidering the Numbers of People now in *Europe*, the Multitude of garriſon'd and well-fortify'd Towns, and the Excellency, to which the Art of War is arrived, and equally underſtood by all Nations, the making wide and extenſive Conqueſts now-a-days ſeems to exiſt only in the theoretic Imaginations of Cabinet Projectors; and it is very plain, to my Apprehenſion, that, tho' 'tis poſſible to attain the eſſential Benefits of Univerſal Monarchy; yet is the conquering of the Countries quite impracticable.

One

One of the moſt eſſential Benefits of Univerſal Monarchy, I take to be the Power of directing Commerce, in ſuch a manner as to make the chief Advantages ariſing therefrom, center where the chief Direction operates: And ſuch Power is only to be either acquir'd or ſupported by judicious Meaſures, and a ſuperior Navy, capable of directing every Commercial Operation. This is certainly too much for any Nation to undertake, and carries with it at beſt, higher Notions of Power than of Juſtice; ſince all our Fellow-Creatures, whether of the ſame Country or not, have an equal right to make the beſt honeſt Advantages, they can, of their Skill and Induſtry; and 'tis equally unjuſt, whether ſuch Arbitrary Power be practis'd by the Sovereign over his Subjects, or by one Nation over another.

The *Engliſh* have a natural Averſion to ſuch Meaſures in any ſhape; yet Neceſſity, and the troubleſome Pertinacity of ſome of their Neighbours may, in a courſe of time, oblige them to act in direct oppoſition to their natural Inclinations: Since, if the Choice muſt be, whether we muſt either reduce a Neighbour within narrow Bounds, or ſuffer ourſelves to be put to an endleſs Expence, and be eternally plagued and perplexed by him, it admits of no Alternative; for

for altho' we would not willingly render other People miſerable, yet it is better to do it than to become ſo ourſelves. The way to effect it to purpoſe, is to aſſiſt their Adverſaries on the Continent with Money, and in the mean time to act vigorouſly at Sea ourſelves. To this end we have at leaſt this preſent Advantage: We have many more, and much better Ships of War, ready to be employ'd on all Emergencies, than both *France* and *Spain* put together, and want neither Money nor Materials to fit them all for Action: All we want is only the remedying of ſome Defects, and a little more Judgment in their general Uſe and Application, to render us really what we now only affect to be, *Maſters of the Ocean.* I have mention'd and expos'd thoſe Defects in the foregoing Pages, and particularly that moſt important one, *viz.* the want of a more eaſy, honourable, and ſpeedy Way of manning the Royal Navy. I ſhall therefore now beg Leave to ſhew what I think the moſt honeſt and natural Means to that End.

I HAVE been told, that in the Reign of the late King *William*, a Law was made for the regiſtering of Seamen, which, had it continu'd in force, and been in every reſpect comply'd with, would, as 'tis ſaid, have anſwer'd, in a great meaſure, the good

Intention

Intention of the Legiſlature; but as Money was to be paid, when Service was not neceſſary, and the Exigencies of the State would not permit it, the Scheme was ſtifled almoſt in its Birth, and is now probably overlook'd and forgot.

THERE have been ſince ſeveral Propoſals to anſwer the ſame great and good End. Some have been diſliked by the People, ſome by the Miniſtry, and ſome perhaps rejected, for want of Influence in the Propoſer; and ſome, it may be, for Reaſons not quite ſo proper to mention. In a word, many have been thought of; but none, as yet, how neceſſary ſoever, enacted into a Law. What the Fate of mine will be, I won't pretend to divine; but if it contributes, in any ſenſe, to the End propos'd, I ſhall think my Time well employed in digeſting it.

A SCHEME *for the more eaſy and ſpeedy Manning of the Royal Navy.*

LET a particular Regiſtry for Seamen be eſtabliſh'd in every Sea-port Town, under the Dominion of *Great Britain*, in the Office of the Collector of the Cuſtoms, and Copies thereof return'd to the Navy-Board, and to the reſpective Commiſſioners of *Chatham*, *Portſmouth*, and *Plymouth*.

LET

LET the Power of thoſe reſpective Commiſſioners be divided into three Departments. To *Chatham* annex all the Coaſt Eaſtward and Northward from *Portſmouth* to the Iſles of *Orkney*. To *Portſmouth* all the Coaſt Weſtward to the Land's-end (*Plymouth* Harbour excepted) and thence all round *Ireland*. To *Plymouth*, all the Coaſt of *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, including the Iſlands from the Land's-end, to the Extremity of *Scotland* on the weſtern Side.

LET every regiſtred Seaman, tho' he never ſerv'd in the Navy, who gets any Hurt or Damage, or grows old in the Service of the Merchants, be entitled to all the Benefits of Seamen ſerving in the Navy, provided his Non-ſervice be not through any Neglect, or wilful Avoidance, and that he contributes out of his monthly Wages, as the Seamen in actual Service do, to the Cheſt of *Chatham*.

LET thoſe who have ſerv'd the Merchants with Reputation in Stations above common Seamen, and, being regiſtred, are commanded to ſerve in the Navy, be employ'd there ſuitably to the Stations they before ſerv'd in.

LET no Seaman be obliged to ſerve above a certain Number of Years, the *Quantum* to be eſtabliſh'd.

LET

LET a proper Officer from the Navy-Office, at the Meeting of every Parliament, attend the Houſe of Commons, with the general Regiſter, and deliver in his Demands of the Number of Seamen wanted for the Service of the enſuing Year; and let a Committee be appointed to ſtrike the Number, which every Port ſhall furniſh in a Courſe of regular Rotation, or by Lot, in the Preſence of the appointed Officer, the Batchelors firſt, except ſuch as have already ſerv'd, and ſuch married Men who have not ſerv'd: But let the Method be abſolutely ſettled by Authority.

LET the ſaid Officer be impower'd to pay their travelling Charges, or provide them Veſſels and Proviſions to carry them to their reſpective Departments; and when they arrive on board ſuch Ships, as the Commiſſioner ſhall direct, let him pay them one Month's Wages *gratis*.

LET no Man be beat, abus'd, or puniſh'd; but as ſuch a Counſel of Officers ſhall direct, as may be conſtituted by Law for that Purpoſe: A ſevere Penalty muſt be laid on the Aggreſſor.

LET every regiſtred Seaman, who ſecretes himſelf when lawfully commanded on Service, be puniſh'd as the Act ſhall direct.

LET every Maſter of a Merchant-ſhip, in each reſpective Port, before he ſails on a foreign or coaſting Voyage, enter his Men with the Port-Officer, their Names, Places of Abode (if not of that Port,) the Stations they ſerve in, and their reſpective Wages. Of this the Maſter muſt ſign a Duplicate with the Officer, and produce it to the Officer of any other Port, who ſhall have Power to oblige ſuch Maſter to pay his Men their Wages according to Contract, and on refuſal to impriſon him, and ſeize the Ship, till Satisfaction be made, at any delivering Port, or as may be contracted for between them. And if the Maſter pretends to have loſt his Duplicate, or is wanting of his Men, let him be ſecur'd, till the ſaid Port-Officer be fully ſatisfied of his Integrity.

LET all Watermen, Fiſhermen, Lighter and Barge-Men, or ſuch as ſail in Hoys, Smacks, or any other Veſſel, who are upwards of eighteen, and under fifty Years of Age, be regiſtred in their reſpective Ports, Harbours, or Rivers.

LET a regular Rotation be purſu'd, as near as poſſible.

I THINK it might be quite proper to let the Men have three Months, or other ſuitable

able Liberty, according to the Emergencies of the Service, at the Concluſion of a Voyage; but above all, their Health and Welfare ſhould be duly taken care of, and attended to. And in Caſes of Injuſtice, where through Favour or Affection to others, any Man finds himſelf injur'd in any reſpect, either in his Perſon, by ſerving out of his Turn, or the like, let him appeal to———

It would likewiſe be of the laſt Importance to have a certain Number of inland People inrolled, under certain Reſtrictions; and ſo far prepar'd, for the Uſe of the Navy, as to be well diſciplined to ſmall Arms. There are many ways to engage, even Volunteers, in ſuch a Regiſter, which would render a Scarcity of Seamen in War-time much leſs inconvenient. What frightens the common People from more naturally engaging in ſuch Service, is the Folly and Brutality of our Officers, more eſpecially thoſe of the Rank of Boatſwains. 'Tis plain, that the Pay is more, including Proviſions, *&c.* than is uſual for the common People to earn, more eſpecially in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but they hear ſo many bad things ſaid of the Conduct of Naval Officers, as quite terrify and ſcare them from the Service.

I Am apprehenſive, we could very badly ſpare People from Husbandry, eſpecially in

the Maritime Counties, which are ſufficiently drain'd already, either by the People's going to Sea, or Fiſhing, or Smuggling: However I conceive it not very difficult to find, in many other Parts of the King's Dominions, a ſufficient Number to anſwer the Purpoſe of the Navy on all Emergencies; when once they are certain of being humanely treated. The want of a proper Regard to this, frightens away the Seamen indeed as well as Land-men; more eſpecially thoſe who frequent the Northern Trade, and are unaccuſtom'd to live, in what they call the middle of Hell, *viz.* amidſt an eternal Scene of Oaths, Imprecations, and various other kinds of unpuniſh'd Crimes; of which, thoſe above them too often ſet the Example. I have heard, that ſuch was not the Practice in the Days of *Cromwell*; yet Men never fought better than in thoſe Times. Why it ſhould be ſo now, is owing, as I take it, to the want of giving our young Gentlemen a judicious Education before they come in the way of being corrupted; and when they do come in the Way of it, they are quickly tainted by their having an Opportunity of aſſociating themſelves with none but the common Seamen. The *French* have a publick Table, to which all the young Gentlemen reſort; which is an Advantage prodigiouſly wanted in the *Britiſh* Navy, and which our Youth cannot have for their Money:

Money: But this is more likely to remain lamented than remedied; unleſs your Lordſhip ſhall think proper to exert yourſelf, while in Power; for if it happens, that either a Seaman, or Perſon leſs able, ſhall aſſume the like Dignity, all Hopes of this, or of any other Reformation, muſt ceaſe perhaps for ever.

A NAVY well mann'd and well officer'd is capable of a great many more important Uſes than what it is uſually applied to. At the worſt indeed it is of great Uſe; but if operated, in every reſpect, as it ought to be, it might be capable of rendering the Nation truly glorious. The Dominion of the Sea is what we contend for; and we have a Right to it, becauſe we can command it.

MR. *Deslandes* takes ſome Pains to ſhew how angry *Lewis* XIV. appear'd at our demanding Reſpect to the *Britiſh* Flag. Such Things, my Lord, are but the Excreſcencies of Honour, and little worth conſidering, when ſet in competition with directing the Affairs of the World, and giving Vigour to and extending our Commerce over the Ocean. The Name of Honour without its glorious Attendants, Wealth and Power, is, at beſt, but a Phantom of the Brain, that lives and thrives on the Credit of Whim and Fancy, which no ſooner retires into, or is ſwallow'd

ſwallow'd up by better digeſted Thoughts, but it vaniſhes into Air. Wherefore, to eſtabliſh Honour on its true Baſis, 'tis abſolutely neceſſary for *Britain* always to command the Sea, by keeping up, on all occaſions, a properly qualify'd Navy, the Ships in good Condition, thoroughly well mann'd by Volunteers, and ſuitably officer'd, the Men alſo well arm'd and diſciplin'd; the laſt Articles have of late Years been ſomewhat improved, but yet very far from attaining to any degree of Perfection.

I REMEMBER a very witty Sarcaſm thrown on our Navy by a *French* Officer, who had ſerved ſucceſsfully againſt us in the late War. Our Converſation turn'd upon this; which Nation produced the beſt Men for Sea-Service. Moſt of the Company gave their Opinions, as guided by the common Prejudices, in favour of their reſpective Countries. However the Officer alledg'd, that the *Engliſh* were much the braveſt Men; and proved it thus: "I have, ſays he, "had the good Fortune to board and carry "more than one *Engliſh* Man of War, in "particular the *Cumberland*, an eighty Gun "Ship, which with ſeveral others com-"poſed a Squadron for convoying the Trade "to *Portugal*. The *Engliſh* on this occaſion "expreſt their ſuperior Bravery, by more "ways than one. In the firſt place, tho'

"our

" our Squadron was much ſuperior to theirs
" in Number; yet they lay by for us,
" drawn up in a Line of Battle, which evi-
" dently ſhew'd they were not afraid of
" us. I ran a-head, and with one little
" Frigat beſides, boarded the *Cumberland*,
" on her Bow and Quarter; and ſo threw
" her Men between two Fires. It was
" with ſome difficulty we at laſt took her,
" tho' her Men had nothing to defend them-
" ſelves with, but Ropes-Ends, Crowes,
" and Handſpikes; and my Men all com-
" pleatly furniſh'd with Fire-Arms, and Cut-
" laſſes. I found upon enquiring after-
" wards, that this odd Spirit of Bravery
" ſubſiſted in their Admiralty, as well as
" aboard their Ships, not a little to our fu-
" ture Emolument; for, as I was inform'd,
" the only Commander in that Squadron,
" who work'd and fought his Ship through
" us all, and got clear, was broke for his
" want of true *Britiſh* Bravery, and for
" fighting his Ship with the * Skill and Ad-
" dreſs of a *Frenchman*."

THE

* It muſt be confeſs'd, that the *French* are vaſtly ſuperior to us in the Knowledge of Military Affairs: And indeed it cannot be otherwiſe, as they take prodigious Pains to this purpoſe; they apply themſelves to the Art of War ſo, as to be thorough Maſters of it; they ſtudy it as a Science, and ſuffer nothing to paſs them, without a careful Examination. An Inſtance of this I heard mention'd a few Evenings ago, by a Gentlemen well verſed in the Affairs of both Nations; who

aſſured

THE want of our Navy's having a ſufficient Number of Men, and ſkilful Officers, well arm'd and diſciplin'd, is the true Reaſon, why we are never able to make ſucceſsful Deſcents on an Enemy's Coaſt. It puts us under a neceſſity of employing Land-Forces, for that purpoſe, which does of neceſſity lay ſuch Enterprizes under every poſſible Diſadvantage: It takes up too much time in Preparation; it puts the Nation to great Expence for Tranſports, and gives the Enemy's Spies time and opportunity to dive into the Myſtery, and conſequently puts them into a Condition to receive us. But were a proper Regulation purſued in this reſpect, all ſuch Inconveniencies would be avoided, and it would be morally impoſſible for either *France*, or *Spain*, to defend their Coaſts from perpetual Inſults. Such Forces indeed could not pretend to conquer Provinces, take regularly fortify'd Towns, or over-run the whole Country; but with the help of good Intelligence, and only ſtaying twenty-four Hours in a Place, as the commanding Officer, on the Spot, ſhould find moſt

aſſured us, that *The Expedition of* Cyrus *the Younger againſt his Brother, and the Retreat of the* Greeks *after his Death*, (the greateſt Action ever performed in the Military Way) tho' but poorly tranſlated, ſold in *France* to the amount of above 100,000. Whereas the Sale of the ſame Piece, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by a maſterly Hand, did not ariſe to more than 300.

moſt convenient, their whole Coaſts might be ravag'd and deſtroy'd, in deſpight of all their grand Armies, and all the Caution they were capable of uſing.

THIRTY Sail of Line of Battle Ships could, with Convenience, ſpare 100 Men each; and where the Enemy had not, nay, could not have any Intelligence, it would be quite impracticable for them to have an equal Number of diſciplin'd Forces to receive them. The whole Armies of *France* and *Spain* would not be ſufficient to guard the Extent of their Coaſts, had they no other Employment for them. Mr. *Deslandes* vapours much on the ill Succeſs of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, in ſuch Deſcents; but has rather aſcrib'd it to the Valour and Conduct of his Countrymen, than to the true Cauſe; which was their having had Intelligence, and ſo properly prepar'd to receive an Enemy: as was the Caſe in *Camaret*-Bay and many others. If my Lord *Cobham* had gone to *Corunna*, as deſign'd, in the late *Spaniſh* War, he had probably met with the ſame Fate; ſince the People at *Gibraltar* were inform'd by the *Spaniards*, of the Intent of that Expedition, before the Fleet ſail'd from *England*. Theſe Reaſons render all ſuch Attempts generally abortive; the beſt we can ſay of them, is, that they are very hazardous and extravagantly expenſive.

A SETT of Men properly enur'd to ſuch kind of Action, would anſwer the Purpoſe much better, than the beſt-diſciplin'd Land-Forces in the World. The way and manner of their Diſcipline muſt be purſued on a quite different Principle: They muſt be accuſtom'd to Light and Darkneſs indifferently; they muſt act by ſurpriſe, and retreat with infinite Dexterity, free from formal Rules, yet not in diſorder: They muſt be as it were another Species of Soldiery, and, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, a kind of regular Irregular Troops, managed and train'd to Action ſomething like what the *Huſſars* practiſe in Land-Armies; they muſt be taught to break of a ſudden into ſmall Parties, attack a Body of Men various Ways at once, and be able to unite again without Confuſion or Diſorder. Such kind of Men, my Lord, ſo train'd and diſciplin'd, would render a Royal Navy uſeful indeed, and lay every Nation, they are to contend with, under Contribution at Pleaſure.

THIS would make the Uſe of a Navy conſider'd in a very different Light, to what it is at preſent, which is merely to command the Sea. So that whenever we have a Nation to contend with, which either keeps no regular Navy, or cannot fit out one able to engage with ours, we prowl about, upon their

their Coaſts, to very little purpoſe: Their Privateers can hurt our Commerce, generally ſpeaking, more a great deal, than our Navy can theirs, as they diſtribute themſelves more, and act free from limited Commiſſions, and as the common Men act upon a nearer level of Profit with their Officers, and ſo make it their proper Buſineſs to be more active and attentive.

THOUGHTS of this kind, tho' immature and indigeſted, have poſſeſs'd the Breaſts of thoſe, who have ruled the Navy, a great while: In conſequence of which, they have created a kind of imaginary Improvement, by adding a Lieutenant and Maſter at Arms, preſuming that thoſe would ſo diſcipline the Men, as to render Land-Forces abroad quite unneceſſary. But the Event has convinced us of the Error: The Scheme only procur'd us more Officers, who indeed were really wanted for Maritime Affairs; but has not help'd us in the leaſt towards attaining the intended Purpoſe. The younger Lieutenants, who are call'd the Officers at Arms, are ſo far from knowing more than the other Officers, of that part of the Art of War, that they generally are the leaſt acquainted therewith; and therefore in no manner of Capacity to command Men aſhore, being neither Soldiers, nor purſuing any Method of Diſcipline, ſuitable to ſuch

Service. Nor indeed can any Syſtem of this kind be put in execution, until our Naval Affairs be ſo regulated, as to have a regular Body of Sea-Forces eſtabliſh'd on the Principles juſt before laid down.

MEN who are taken into pay to-day, and, as it were, diſcharg'd to-morrow, can never ſerve any, but random and temporary Purpoſes. Such Methods, taking all things together, put the Nation to more Expence, than a regular eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution would do; but in no ſenſe anſwer the ſame important End.

IN the whole, my Lord, your high Rank, Education, and happy Genius have freed you from all the little narrow Prejudices which a regular Maritime Life is too apt to fill the Minds of its Profeſſors with: You can judge of all Thoughts, of this nature, with a generous and becoming Freedom; and can never be defective in your Judgment, but when your Modeſty induces you to diſtruſt it; and thereby to depend on the vague Opinions of thoſe, who ſee things only in the ſingle Light, they are accuſtom'd to behold them in, without any ſhare in that extenſive and comprehenſive Knowledge of Men, Manners, and Things, which may contribute to render their Country rich, powerful, and glorious.

I WOULD not be underſtood to mean, that native Genius is wanted amongſt Mariners, more than other People; but only, that where ſuch Genius naturally lives, it is too early curb'd and confin'd by an Inſinuation of, and violent Attachment to, abſurd local Principles, ſuch as are apt to eſtabliſh in their Imaginations a Conceit, that to be a mere Seaman, is to be Maſter of much ſuperior Accompliſhments to the reſt of Mankind; and thus by imbibing a very pernicious Error, they deſtroy the very Seeds of Genius, and render themſelves in the whole not a little contemptible.

I MUST beg leave to take Notice, that in the Courſe of this little Performance I have now and then digreſs'd into Alluſion and Allegory, which ſtrictly ſpeaking ought to have been avoided in Works of this Nature, as all ſuch Flights chiefly appertain to Works of meer Fancy: But, my Lord, this Piece is not written purely for ſuch Perſons as your Lordſhip; the Times will not permit it: Deep Thoughts, and abſtruſe Calculations would have damn'd it in the Eſteem of nine Tenths of my Readers, and turn'd it upon the Bookſeller's Hands as a mere Drug: The ſuperficial Reader would have doſed before he had got half through, and the main Purpoſe of my Eſſay would have

have been entirely fruſtrated; which is, to give Men of all Capacities a general Knowledge of the State of our Commerce, and Marine, as they ſtand in Competition with thoſe of *France*; and to undeceive ſuch of my honeſt Countrymen, as have imbibed terrible Conceits of her Riches, Power, and Influence, which you, and ſuch as you, my Lord, if any ſuch there be, know to be a Dream, and which, I conceive, is here ſufficiently proved to be ſo.

I am, &c.

FINIS.